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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

By EDWARD GIBBON, Esq;

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

A NEW EDITION.

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CHAP. XXII. The jealouſy of Conſtantius againſt Julian.

WHILE the Romans languiſhed under the ignominious tyranny of eunuchs and biſhops, the praiſes of Julian were repeated with tranſport in every part of the empire, except in the palace of Conſtantius. The Barbarians of Germany had felt, and ſtill dreaded, the arms of the young Cæſar; his ſoldiers were the companions of his victory; the grateful provincials enjoyed the bleſſings of his reign; but the favourites, who had oppoſed his elevation, were offended by his virtues; and they juſtly conſidered the friend of the people

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as the enemy of the court. As long as the fame of Julian was doubtful, the buffoons of the palace, who were ſkilled in the language of ſatire, tried the efficacy of thoſe arts which they had ſo often practiſed with ſucceſs. They eaſily diſcovered, that his ſimplicity was not exempt from affectation: the ridiculous epithets of an hairy ſavage, of an ape inveſted with the purple, were applied to the dreſs and perſon of the philoſophic warrior; and his modeſt diſpatches were ſtigmatized as the vain and elaborate fictions of a loquacious Greek, a ſpeculative ſoldier, who had ſtudied the art of war amidſt the groves of the academy [1]. The voice of malicious folly was at length ſilenced by the ſhouts of victory; the conqueror of the Franks and Alemanni could no longer be painted as an object of contempt; and the monarch himſelf was meanly ambitious of ſtealing from his lieutenant the honourable reward of his labours. In the letters crowned with laurel, which, according to ancient cuſtom, were addreſſed to the provinces, the name of Julian was omitted. "Conſtantius had made "his diſpoſitions in perſon; *he* had ſignalized "his valour in the foremoſt ranks; *his* military "conduct had ſecured the victory; and the "captive king of the Barbarians was preſented "to *him* on the field of battle," from which he was at that time diſtant above forty days journey [2]. So extravagant a fable was incapable, however, of deceiving the public credulity; or even of ſatisfying the pride of the emperor himſelf. Secretly

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conſcious that the applauſe and favour of the Romans accompanied the riſing fortunes of Julian, his diſcontented mind was prepared to receive the ſubtle poiſon of thoſe artful ſycophants, who coloured their miſchievous deſigns with the faireſt appearances of truth and candour [1]. Inſtead of depreciating the merits of Julian, they acknowledged, and even exaggerated, his popular fame, ſuperior talents, and important ſervices. But they darkly inſinuated, that the virtues of the Cæſar might inſtantly be converted into the moſt dangerous crimes; if the inconſtant multitude ſhould prefer their inclinations to their duty; or if the general of a victorious army ſhould be tempted from his allegiance by the hopes of revenge, and independent greatneſs. The perſonal fears of Conſtantius were interpreted by his council as a laudable anxiety for the public ſafety; whilſt in private, and perhaps in his own breaſt, he diſguiſed, under the leſs odious appellation of fear, the ſentiments of hatred and envy, which he had ſecretly conceived for the inimitable virtues of Julian.

Fears and envy of Conſtantius.

The apparent tranquillity of Gaul, and the imminent danger of the eaſtern provinces, offered a ſpecious pretence for the deſign which was artfully concerted by the Imperial miniſters. They reſolved to diſarm the Cæſar; to recal thoſe faithful troops who guarded his perſon and dignity; and to employ in a diſtant war againſt the Perſian monarch, the hardy veterans who had vanquiſhed, on the banks of the Rhine, the

The legions of Gaul are ordered to march into the Eaſt, A. D. 360; April.

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fierceſt nations of Germany. While Julian uſed the laborious hours of his winter-quarters at Paris in the adminiſtration of power, which, in his hands, was the exerciſe of virtue, he was ſurpriſed by the haſty arrival of a tribune and a notary, with poſitive orders from the emperor, which *they* were directed to execute, and *he* was commanded not to oppoſe. Conſtantius ſignified his pleaſure, that four entire legions, the Celtæ, and Petulants, the Heruli, and the Batavians, ſhould be ſeparated from the ſtandard of Julian, under which they had acquired their fame and diſcipline; that in each of the remaining bands, three hundred of the braveſt youths ſhould be ſelected; and that this numerous detachment, the ſtrength of the Gallic army, ſhould inſtantly begin their march, and exert their utmoſt diligence to arrive, before the opening of the campaign, on the frontiers of Perſia[4]. The Cæſar foreſaw, and lamented, the conſequences of this fatal mandate. Moſt of the auxiliaries, who engaged their voluntary ſervice, had ſtipulated, that they ſhould never be obliged to paſs the Alps. The public faith of Rome, and the perſonal honour of Julian, had been pledged for the obſervance of this condition. Such an act of treachery and oppreſſion would deſtroy the confidence, and excite the reſentment, of the independent warriors of Germany, who conſidered truth as the nobleſt of their virtues, and freedom as the moſt valuable of their poſſeſſions. The legionaries, who enjoyed the title and privileges

of Romans, were enliſted for the general defence of the republic; but thoſe mercenary troops heard with cold indifference the antiquated names of the republic and of Rome. Attached, either from birth or long habit, to the climate and manners of Gaul, they loved and admired Julian; they deſpiſed, and perhaps hated, the emperor; they dreaded the laborious march, the Perſian arrows, and the burning deſerts of Aſia. They claimed, as their own, the country which they had ſaved; and excuſed their want of ſpirit, by pleading the ſacred and more immediate duty of protecting their families and friends. The apprehenſions of the Gauls were derived from the knowledge of the impending and inevitable danger. As ſoon as the provinces were exhauſted of their military ſtrength, the Germans would violate a treaty which had been impoſed on their fears; and notwithſtanding the abilities and valour of Julian, the general of a nominal army, to whom the public calamities would be imputed, muſt find himſelf, after a vain reſiſtance, either a priſoner in the camp of the Barbarians, or a criminal in the palace of Conſtantius. If Julian complied with the orders which he had received, he ſubſcribed his own deſtruction, and that of a people who deſerved his affection. But a poſitive refuſal was an act of rebellion, and a declaration of war. The inexorable jealouſy of the emperor, the peremptory, and perhaps inſidious, nature of his commands, left not any room for a fair apology,

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or candid interpretation; and the dependent ſtation of the Cæſar ſcarcely allowed him to pauſe or to deliberate. Solitude encreaſed the perplexity of Julian; he could no longer apply to the faithful counſels of Salluſt, who had been removed from his office by the judicious malice of the eunuchs: he could not even enforce his repreſentations by the concurrence of the miniſters, who would have been afraid, or aſhamed, to approve the ruin of Gaul. The moment had been choſen, when Lupicinus [5], the general of the cavalry, was diſpatched into Britain, to repulſe the inroads of the Scots and Picts; and Florentius was occupied at Vienna by the aſſeſſment of the tribute. The latter, a crafty and corrupt ſtateſman declining to aſſume a reſponſible part on this dangerous occaſion, eluded the preſſing and repeated invitations of Julian, who repreſented to him, that in every important meaſure, the preſence of the præfect was indiſpenſable in the council of the prince. In the mean while the Cæſar was oppreſſed by the rude and importunate ſolicitations of the Imperial meſſengers, who preſumed to ſuggeſt, that if he expected the return of his miniſters, he would charge himſelf with the guilt of the delay, and reſerve for them the merit of the execution. Unable to reſiſt, unwilling to comply, Julian expreſſed in the moſt ſerious terms, his wiſh, and even his intention, of reſigning the purple, which he could not preſerve with honour, but which he could not abdicate with ſafety.

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Their diſcontents.

After a painful conflict, Julian was compelled to acknowledge, that obedience was the virtue of the moſt eminent ſubject, and that the ſovereign alone was entitled to judge of the public welfare. He iſſued the neceſſary orders for carrying into execution the commands of Conſtantius; a part of the troops began their march for the Alps; and the detachments from the ſeveral garriſons moved towards their reſpective places of aſſembly. They advanced with difficulty through the trembling and affrighted crowds of provincials; who attempted to excite their pity by ſilent deſpair, or loud lamentations; while the wives of the ſoldiers, holding their infants in their arms, accuſed the deſertion of their huſbands in the mixed language of grief, of tenderneſs, and of indignation. This ſcene of general diſtreſs afflicted the humanity of the Cæſar; he granted a ſufficient number of poſt-waggons to tranſport the wives and families of the ſoldiers[c], endeavoured to alleviate the hardſhips which he was conſtrained to inflict, and encreaſed, by the moſt laudable arts, his own popularity, and the diſcontent of the exiled troops. The grief of an armed multitude is ſoon converted into rage; their licentious murmurs, which every hour were communicated from tent to tent with more boldneſs and effect, prepared their minds for the moſt daring acts of ſedition; and by the connivance of their tribunes, a ſeaſonable libel was ſecretly diſperſed, which painted, in lively colours, the diſgrace of the Cæſar, the

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oppreſſion of the Gallic army, and the feeble vices of the tyrant of Aſia. The ſervants of Conſtantius were aſtoniſhed and alarmed by the progreſs of this dangerous ſpirit. They preſſed the Cæſar to haſten the departure of the troops; but they imprudently rejected the honeſt and judicious advice of Julian; who propoſed that they ſhould not march through Paris, and ſuggeſted the danger and temptation of a laſt interview.

They proclaim Julian emperor.

As ſoon as the approach of the troops was announced, the Cæſar went out to meet them, and aſcended his tribunal, which had been erected in a plain before the gates of the city. After diſtinguiſhing the officers and ſoldiers, who by their rank or merit deſerved a peculiar attention, Julian addreſſed himſelf in a ſtudied oration to the ſurrounding multitude: he celebrated their exploits with grateful applauſe; encouraged them to accept, with alacrity, the honour of ſerving under the eyes of a powerful and liberal monarch; and admoniſhed them that the commands of Auguſtus required an inſtant and cheerful obedience. The ſoldiers, who were apprehenſive of offending their general by an indecent clamour, or of belying their ſentiments by falſe and venal acclamations, maintained an obſtinate ſilence, and, after a ſhort pauſe, were diſmiſſed to their quarters. The principal officers were entertained by the Cæſar, who profeſſed, in the warmeſt language of friendſhip, his deſire and his inability to reward, according to their deſerts, the brave companions

of his victories. They retired from the feaſt, full of grief and perplexity; and lamented the hardſhip of their fate, which tore them from their beloved general and their native country. The only expedient which could prevent their ſeparation was boldly agitated and approved; the popular reſentment was inſenſibly moulded into a regular conſpiracy; their juſt reaſons of complaint were heightened by paſſion, and their paſſions were inflamed by wine; as on the eve of their departure, the troops were indulged in licentious feſtivity. At the hour of midnight, the impetuous multitude, with ſwords, and bowls, and torches, in their hands, ruſhed into the ſuburbs; encompaſſed the palace[7]; and, careleſs of future dangers, pronounced the fatal and irrevocable words, JULIAN AUGUSTUS! The prince, whoſe anxious ſuſpence was interrupted by their diſorderly acclamations, ſecured the doors againſt their intruſion; and, as long as it was in his power, ſecluded his perſon and dignity from the accidents of a nocturnal tumult. At the dawn of day, the ſoldiers, whoſe zeal was irritated by oppoſition, forcibly entered the palace, ſeized, with reſpectful violence, the object of their choice, guarded Julian with drawn ſwords through the ſtreets of Paris, placed him on the tribunal, and with repeated ſhouts ſaluted him as their emperor. Prudence, as well as loyalty, inculcated the propriety of reſiſting their treaſonable deſigns; and of preparing for his oppreſſed virtue, the excuſe of violence.

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Addreſſing himſelf by turns to the multitude and to individuals, he ſometimes implored their mercy, and ſometimes expreſſed his indignation; conjured them not to ſully the fame of their immortal victories; and ventured to promiſe, that if they would immediately return to their allegiance, he would undertake to obtain from the emperor, not only a free and gracious pardon, but even the revocation of the orders which had excited their reſentment. But the ſoldiers, who were conſcious of their guilt, choſe rather to depend on the gratitude of Julian, than on the clemency of the emperor. Their zeal was inſenſibly turned into impatience, and their impatience into rage. The inflexible Cæſar ſuſtained till the third hour of the day, their prayers, their reproaches, and their menaces; nor did he yield, till he had been repeatedly aſſured, that if he wiſhed to live, he muſt conſent to reign. He was exalted on a ſhield in the preſence, and amidſt the unanimous acclamations, of the troops; a rich military collar, which was offered by chance, ſupplied the want of a diadem [9]; the ceremony was concluded by the promiſe of a moderate donative [9]; and the new emperor, overwhelmed with real or affected grief, retired into the moſt ſecret receſſes of his apartment [10].

His proteſtations of innocence.

The grief of Julian could proceed only from his innocence; but his innocence muſt appear extremely doubtful [11], in the eyes of thoſe who have learned to ſuſpect the motives and the pro-

feſſions of princes. His lively and active mind was ſuſceptible of the various impreſſions of hope and fear, of gratitude and revenge, of duty and of ambition, of the love of fame and of the fear of reproach. But it is impoſſible for us to calculate the reſpective weight and operation of theſe ſentiments; or to aſcertain the principles of action, which might eſcape the obſervation, while they guided, or rather impelled, the ſteps of Julian himſelf. The diſcontent of the troops was produced by the malice of his enemies; their tumult was the natural effect of intereſt and of paſſion; and if Julian had tried to conceal a deep deſign under the appearances of chance, he muſt have employed the moſt conſummate artifice without neceſſity, and probably without ſucceſs. He ſolemnly declares, in the preſence of Jupiter, of the Sun, of Mars, of Minerva, and of all the other deities, that, till the cloſe of the evening which preceded his elevation, he was utterly ignorant of the deſigns of the ſoldiers[11]; and it may ſeem ungenerous to diſtruſt the honour of a hero, and the truth of a philoſopher. Yet the ſuperſtitious confidence that Conſtantius was the enemy, and that he himſelf was the favourite, of the gods, might prompt him to deſire, to ſolicit, and even to haſten the auſpicious moment of his reign, which was predeſtined to reſtore the ancient religion of mankind. When Julian had received the intelligence of the conſpiracy, he reſigned himſelf to a ſhort ſlumber; and afterwards related to his

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friends, that he had ſeen the Genius of the empire waiting with ſome impatience at his door, preſſing for admittance, and reproaching his want of ſpirit and ambition[11]. Aſtoniſhed and perplexed, he addreſſed his prayers to the great Jupiter; who immediately ſignified, by a clear and manifeſt omen, that he ſhould ſubmit to the will of heaven and of the army. The conduct which diſclaims the ordinary maxims of reaſon, excites our ſuſpicion and eludes our enquiry. Whenever the ſpirit of fanaticiſm, at once ſo credulous and ſo crafty, has inſinuated itſelf into a noble mind, it inſenſibly corrodes the vital principles of virtue and veracity.

His embaſſy to Conſtantius.

To moderate the zeal of his party, to protect the perſons of his enemies[12], to defeat and to deſpiſe the ſecret enterpriſes which were formed againſt his life and dignity, were the cares which employed the firſt days of the reign of the new Emperor. Although he was firmly reſolved to maintain the ſtation which he had aſſumed, he was ſtill deſirous of ſaving his country from the calamities of civil war, of declining a conteſt with the ſuperior forces of Conſtantius, and of preſerving his own character from the reproach of perfidy and ingratitude. Adorned with the enſigns of military and Imperial pomp, Julian ſhewed himſelf in the field of Mars to the ſoldiers, who glowed with ardent enthuſiaſm in the cauſe of their pupil, their leader, and their friend. He recapitulated their victories, lamented their ſufferings, applauded their reſolution, animated

their hopes, and checked their impetuoſity; nor did he diſmiſs the aſſembly, till he had obtained a ſolemn promiſe from the troops, that if the emperor of the Eaſt would ſubſcribe an equitable treaty, they would renounce any views of conqueſt, and ſatisfy themſelves with the tranquil poſſeſſion of the Gallic provinces. On this foundation he compoſed, in his own name, and in that of the army, a ſpecious and moderate epiſtle [11], which was delivered to Pentadius, his maſter of the offices, and to his chamberlain Eutherius; two ambaſſadors whom he appointed to receive the anſwer, and obſerve the diſpoſitions of Conſtantius. This epiſtle is inſcribed with the modeſt appellation of Cæſar; but Julian ſolicits in a peremptory, though reſpectful manner, the confirmation of the title of Auguſtus. He acknowledges the irregularity of his own election, while he juſtifies, in ſome meaſure, the reſentment and violence of the troops which had extorted his reluctant conſent. He allows the ſupremacy of his brother Conſtantius; and engages to ſend him an annual preſent of Spaniſh horſes, to recruit his army with a ſelect number of Barbarian youths, and to accept from his choice a Prætorian præfect of approved diſcretion and fidelity. But he reſerves for himſelf the nomination of his other civil and military officers, with the troops, the revenue, and the ſovereignty of the provinces beyond the Alps. He admoniſhes the emperor to conſult the dictates of juſtice; to diſtruſt the arts of thoſe venal

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flatterers, who ſubſiſt only by the diſcord of princes; and to embrace the offer of a fair and honourable treaty, equally advantageous to the republic, and to the houſe of Conſtantine. In this negociation Julian claimed no more than he already poſſeſſed. The delegated authority which he had long exerciſed over the provinces of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was ſtill obeyed under a name more independent and auguſt. The ſoldiers and the people rejoiced in a revolution which was not ſtained even with the blood of the guilty. Florentius was a fugitive; Lupicinus a priſoner. The perſons who were diſaffected to the new government were diſarmed and ſecured; and the vacant offices were diſtributed, according to the recommendation of merit, by a prince, who deſpiſed the intrigues of the palace, and the clamours of the ſoldiers [16].

His fourth and fifth expeditions beyond the Rhine, A. D. 360, 361.

The negociations of peace were accompanied and ſupported by the moſt vigorous preparations for war. The army, which Julian held in readineſs for immediate action, was recruited and augmented by the diſorders of the times. The cruel perſecution of the faction of Magnentius had filled Gaul with numerous bands of outlaws and robbers. They cheerfully accepted the offer of a general pardon from a prince whom they could truſt, ſubmitted to the reſtraints of military diſcipline, and retained only their implacable hatred to the perſon and government of Conſtantius [17]. As ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year permitted Julian to take the field, he

appeared at the head of his legions; threw a bridge over the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Cleves; and prepared to chaſtiſe the perfidy of the Attuarii, a tribe of Franks, who preſumed that they might ravage, with impunity, the frontiers of a divided empire. The difficulty, as well as glory, of this enterprize, conſiſted in a laborious march; and Julian had conquered, as ſoon as he could penetrate into a country, which former princes had conſidered as inacceſſible. After he had given peace to the Barbarians, the emperor careſully viſited the fortifications along the Rhine from Cleves to Baſil; ſurveyed, with peculiar attention, the territories which he had recovered from the hands of the Alemanni, paſſed through Beſançon [18], which had ſeverely ſuffered from their fury, and fixed his head-quarters at Vienna for the enſuing winter. The barrier of Gaul was improved and ſtrengthened with additional fortifications; and Julian entertained ſome hopes, that the Germans, whom he had ſo often vanquiſhed, might, in his abſence, be reſtrained, by the terror of his name. Vandomair [19] was the only prince of the Alemanni, whom he eſteemed or feared; and while the ſubtle Barbarian affected to obſerve the faith of treaties, the progreſs of his arms threatened the ſtate with an unſeaſonable and dangerous war. The policy of Julian condeſcended to ſurpriſe the prince of the Alemanni by his own arts; and Vadomair, who, in the character of a friend, had incautiouſly accepted an invitation from the Roman governors,

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was ſeized in the midſt of the entertainment, and ſent away priſoner into the heart of Spain. Before the Barbarians were recovered from their amazement, the emperor appeared in arms on the banks of the Rhine, and, once more croſſing the river, renewed the deep impreſſions of terror and reſpect which had been already made by four preceding expeditions[20].

Fruitleſs treaty and declaration of war, A. D. 361.

The ambaſſadors of Julian had been inſtructed to execute, with the utmoſt diligence, their important commiſſion. But, in their paſſage through Italy and Illyricum, they were detained by the tedious and affected delays of the provincial governors; they were conducted by ſlow journies from Conſtantinople to Cæſarea in Cappadocia; and when at length they were admitted to the preſence of Conſtantius, they found that he had already conceived, from the diſpatches of his own officers, the moſt unfavourable opinion of the conduct of Julian, and of the Gallic army. The letters were heard with impatience; the trembling meſſengers were diſmiſſed with indignation and contempt; and the looks, the geſtures, the furious language of the monarch, expreſſed the diſorder of his ſoul. The domeſtic connection, which might have reconciled the brother and the huſband of Helena, was recently diſſolved by the death of that princeſs, whoſe pregnancy had been ſeveral times fruitleſs, and was at laſt fatal to herſelf[21]. The empreſs Euſebia had preſerved to the laſt moment of her life the warm, and even jealous, affection which

ſhe

ſhe had conceived for Julian; and her mild influence might have moderated the reſentment of a prince, who, ſince her death, was abandoned to his own paſſions, and to the arts of his eunuchs. But the terror of a foreign invaſion obliged him to ſuſpend the puniſhment of a private enemy; he continued his march towards the confines of Perſia, and thought it ſufficient to ſignify the conditions which might entitle Julian and his guilty followers to the clemency of their offended ſovereign. He required, that the preſumptuous Cæſar ſhould expreſsly renounce the appellation and rank of Auguſtus, which he had accepted from the rebels; that he ſhould deſcend to his former ſtation of a limited and dependent miniſter; that he ſhould veſt the powers of the ſtate and army in the hands of thoſe officers who were appointed by the Imperial court; and that he ſhould truſt his ſafety to the aſſurances of pardon, which were announced by Epictetus, a Gallic biſhop, and one of the Arian favourites of Conſtantius. Several months were ineffectually conſumed in a treaty which was negociated at the diſtance of three thouſand miles between Paris and Antioch; and, as ſoon as Julian perceived that his moderate and reſpectful behaviour ſerved only to irritate the pride of an implacable adverſary, he boldly reſolved to commit his life and fortune to the chance of a civil war. He gave a public and military audience to the quæſtor Leonas: the haughty epiſtle of Conſtantius was read to the attentive multitude; and

CHAP. XXII. Julian proteſted, with the moſt flattering deference, that he was ready to reſign the title of Auguſtus, if he could obtain the conſent of thoſe whom he acknowledged as the authors of his elevation. The faint propoſal was impetuouſly ſilenced; and the acclamations of "Julian Auguſtus, continue to reign, by the authority of "the army, of the people, of the republic, "which you have ſaved," thundered at once from every part of the field, and terrified the pale ambaſſador of Conſtantius. A part of the letter was afterwards read, in which the emperor arraigned the ingratitude of Julian, whom he had inveſted with the honours of the purple; whom he had educated with ſo much care and tenderneſs; whom he had preſerved in his infancy, when he was left a helpleſs orphan; "an "orphan!" interrupted Julian, who juſtified his cauſe by indulging his paſſions: "Does the aſ-"ſaſſin of my family reproach me that I was "left an orphan? He urges me to revenge "thoſe injuries, which I have long ſtudied to "forget." The aſſembly was diſmiſſed; and Leonas, who, with ſome difficulty, had been protected from the popular fury, was ſent back to his maſter, with an epiſtle, in which Julian expreſſed, in a ſtrain of the moſt vehement eloquence, the ſentiments of contempt, of hatred, and of reſentment, which had been ſuppreſſed and embittered by the diſſimulation of twenty years. After this meſſage, which might be conſidered as a ſignal of irreconcileable war, Julian,

who, ſome weeks before, had celebrated the Chriſtian feſtival of the Epiphany [22], made a public declaration that he committed the care of his ſafety to the IMMORTAL GODS; and thus publicly renounced the religion, as well as the friendſhip, of Conſtantius [23]. CHAP. XXII.

The ſituation of Julian required a vigorous and immediate reſolution. He had diſcovered, from intercepted letters, that his adverſary, ſacrificing the intereſt of the ſtate to that of the monarch, had again excited the Barbarians to invade the provinces of the Weſt. The poſition of two magazines, one of them collected on the banks of the lake of Conſtance, the other formed at the foot of the Cottian Alps, ſeemed to indicate the march of two armies; and the ſize of thoſe magazines, each of which conſiſted of ſix hundred thouſand quarters of wheat, or rather flour [24], was a threatening evidence of the ſtrength and numbers of the enemy, who prepared to ſurround him. But the Imperial legions were ſtill in their diſtant quarters of Aſia; the Danube was feebly guarded; and if Julian could occupy, by a ſudden incurſion, the important provinces of Illyricum, he might expect that a people of ſoldiers would reſort to his ſtandard, and that the rich mines of gold and ſilver would contribute to the expences of the civil war. He propoſed this bold enterpriſe to the aſſembly of the ſoldiers; inſpired them with a juſt confidence in their general, and in themſelves; and exhorted them to maintain their reputation, of being

Julian prepares to attack Conſtantius.

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terrible to the enemy, moderate to their fellow-citizens, and obedient to their officers. His ſpirited diſcourſe was received with the loudeſt acclamations, and the ſame troops which had taken up arms againſt Conſtantius, when he ſummoned them to leave Gaul, now declared with alacrity, that they would follow Julian to the fartheſt extremities of Europe or Aſia. The oath of fidelity was adminiſtered; and the ſoldiers, claſhing their ſhields, and pointing their drawn ſwords to their throats, devoted themſelves, with horrid imprecations, to the ſervice of a leader whom they celebrated as the deliverer of Gaul, and the conqueror of the Germans [25]. This ſolemn engagement, which ſeemed to be dictated by affection, rather than by duty, was ſingly oppoſed by Nebridius, who had been admitted to the office of Prætorian præfect. That faithful miniſter, alone and unaſſiſted, aſſerted the rights of Conſtantius in the midſt of an armed and angry multitude, to whoſe fury he had almoſt fallen an honourable, but uſeleſs, ſacrifice. After loſing one of his hands by the ſtroke of a ſword, he embraced the knees of the prince whom he had offended. Julian covered the præfect with his Imperial mantle, and protecting him from the zeal of his followers, diſmiſſed him to his own houſe, with leſs reſpect than was perhaps due to the virtue of an enemy [26]. The high office of Nebridius was beſtowed on Salluſt; and the provinces of Gaul, which were now delivered from the intolerable oppreſſion of taxes, enjoyed

the mild and equitable adminiſtration of the friend of Julian, who was permitted to practiſe thoſe virtues which he had inſtilled into the mind of his pupil [27]. CHAP. XXII.

His march from the Rhine into Illyricum.

The hopes of Julian depended much leſs on the number of his troops, than on the celerity of his motions. In the execution of a daring enterpriſe, he availed himſelf of every precaution, as far as prudence could ſuggeſt; and where prudence could no longer accompany his ſteps, he truſted the event to valour and to fortune. In the neighbourhood of Baſil he aſſembled and divided his army [28]. One body, which conſiſted of ten thouſand men, was directed, under the command of Nevitta, general of the cavalry, to advance through the midland parts of Rhætia and Noricum. A ſimilar diviſion of troops, under the orders of Jovius and Jovinus, prepared to follow the oblique courſe of the highways, through the Alps and the northern confines of Italy. The inſtructions to the generals were conceived with energy and preciſion: to haſten their march in cloſe and compact columns, which, according to the diſpoſition of the ground, might readily be changed into any order of battle; to ſecure themſelves againſt the ſurpriſes of the night by ſtrong poſts and vigilant guards; to prevent reſiſtance by their unexpected arrival; to elude examination by their ſudden departure; to ſpread the opinion of their ſtrength, and the terror of his name; and to join their ſovereign under the walls of Sirmium. For himſelf, Julian had

CHAP. XXII. reſerved a more difficult and extraordinary part. He ſelected three thouſand brave and active volunteers, reſolved, like their leader, to caſt behind them every hope of a retreat: at the head of this faithful band, he fearleſsly plunged into the receſſes of the Marcian, or black foreſt, which conceals the ſources of the Danube [9]; and, for many days, the fate of Julian was unknown to the world. The ſecrecy of his march, his diligence, and vigour, ſurmounted every obſtacle; he forced his way over mountains and moraſſes, occupied the bridges or ſwam the rivers, purſued his direct courſe [10], without reflecting whether he traverſed the territory of the Romans or of the Barbarians, and at length emerged, between Ratiſbon and Vienna, at the place where he deſigned to embark his troops on the Danube. By a well-concerted ſtratagem, he ſeized a fleet of light brigantines [11], as it lay at anchor; ſecured a ſupply of coarſe proviſions ſufficient to ſatisfy the indelicate, but voracious, appetite of a Gallic army; and boldly committed himſelf to the ſtream of the Danube. The labours of his mariners, who plied their oars with inceſſant diligence, and the ſteady continuance of a favourable wind, carried his fleet above ſeven hundred miles in eleven days [12]; and he had already diſembarked his troops at Bononia, only nineteen miles from Sirmium, before his enemies could receive any certain intelligence that he had left the banks of the Rhine. In the courſe of this long and rapid navigation, the mind of Julian was fixed on the

object of his enterprise; and though he accepted the deputation of some cities, which hastened to claim the merit of an early submission, he passed before the hostile stations, which were placed along the river, without indulging the temptation of signalizing an useless and ill-timed valour. The banks of the Danube were crowded on either side with spectators, who gazed on the military pomp, anticipated the importance of the event, and diffused through the adjacent country the fame of a young hero, who advanced with more than mortal speed at the head of the innumerable forces of the West. Lucilian, who, with the rank of general of the cavalry, commanded the military powers of Illyricum, was alarmed and perplexed by the doubtful reports, which he could neither reject nor believe. He had taken some slow and irresolute measures for the purpose of collecting his troops, when he was surprised by Dagalaiphus, an active officer, whom Julian, as soon as he landed at Bononia, had pushed forwards with some light infantry. The captive general, uncertain of his life or death, was hastily thrown upon a horse, and conducted to the presence of Julian; who kindly raised him from the ground, and dispelled the terror and amazement which seemed to stupify his faculties. But Lucilian had no sooner recovered his spirits, than he betrayed his want of discretion, by presuming to admonish his conqueror, that he had rashly ventured, with a handful of men, to expose his person in the midst of his enemies. "Reserve

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" for your maſter Conſtantius theſe timid remon-
" ſtrances, " replied Julian, with a ſmile of contempt; " when I gave you my purple to kiſs,
" I received you not as a counſellor, but as a
" ſuppliant." Conſcious that ſucceſs alone could juſtify his attempt, and that boldneſs only could command ſucceſs, he inſtantly advanced, at the head of three thouſand ſoldiers, to attack the ſtrongeſt and moſt populous city of the Illyrian provinces. As he entered the long ſuburb of Sirmium, he was received by the joyful acclamations of the army and people; who, crowned with flowers, and holding lighted tapers in their hands, conducted their acknowledged ſovereign to his Imperial reſidence. Two days were devoted to the public joy, which was celebrated by the games of the Circus; but, early on the morning of the third day, Julian marched to occupy the narrow paſs of Succi, in the defiles of Mount Hæmus; which, almoſt in the mid-way between Sirmium and Conſtantinople, ſeparates the provinces of Thrace and Dacia, by an abrupt deſcent towards the former, and a gentle declivity on the ſide of the latter [13]. The defence of this important poſt was entruſted to the brave Nevitta; who, as well as the generals of the Italian diviſion, ſucceſsfully executed the plan of the march and junction which their maſter had ſo ably conceived [14].

He juſtifies his cauſe.

The homage which Julian obtained, from the fears or the inclination of the people, extended far beyond the immediate effect of his arms [15].

The præfectures of Italy and Illyricum were administered by Taurus and Florentius, who united that important office with the vain honours of the conſulſhip; and as thoſe magiſtrates had retired with precipitation to the court of Aſia, Julian, who could not always reſtrain the levity of his temper, ſtigmatized their flight by adding, in all the Acts of the Year, the epithet of *fugitive* to the names of the two conſuls. The provinces which had been deſerted by their firſt magiſtrates acknowledged the authority of an emperor, who, conciliating the qualities of a ſoldier with thoſe of a philoſopher, was equally admired in the camps of the Danube, and in the cities of Greece. From his palace, or, more properly, from his head-quarters of Sirmium and Naiſſus, he diſtributed to the principal cities of the empire, a laboured apology for his own conduct; publiſhed the ſecret diſpatches of Conſtantius; and ſolicited the judgment of mankind between two competitors, the one of whom had expelled, and the other had invited, the Barbarians [36]. Julian, whoſe mind was deeply wounded by the reproach of ingratitude, aſpired to maintain, by argument as well as by arms, the ſuperior merits of his cauſe; and to excel, not only in the arts of war, but in thoſe of compoſition. His epiſtle to the ſenate and people of Athens [37] ſeems to have been dictated by an elegant enthuſiaſm; which prompted him to ſubmit his actions and his motives to the degenerate Athenians of his own times, with the ſame humble deference, as if he had been pleading,

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in the days of Ariſtides, before the tribunal of the Areopagus. His application to the ſenate of Rome, which was ſtill permitted to beſtow the titles of Imperial power, was agreeable to the forms of the expiring republic. An aſſembly was ſummoned by Tertullus, præfect of the city; the epiſtle of Julian was read; and as he appeared to be maſter of Italy, his claims were admitted without a diſſenting voice. His oblique cenſure of the innovations of Conſtantine, and his paſſionate invective againſt the vices of Conſtantius, were heard with leſs ſatisfaction; and the ſenate, as if Julian had been preſent, unanimouſly exclaimed, "Reſpect, we beſeech you, the author "of your own fortune". " An artful expreſſion, which, according to the chance of war, might be differently explained; as a manly reproof of the ingratitude of the uſurper, or as a flattering confeſſion, that a ſingle act of ſuch benefit to the ſtate ought to atone for all the failings of Conſtantius.

Hoſtile preparations.

The intelligence of the march and rapid progreſs of Julian was ſpeedily tranſmitted to his rival, who, by the retreat of Sapor, had obtained ſome reſpite from the Perſian war. Diſguiſing the anguiſh of his ſoul under the ſemblance of contempt, Conſtantius profeſſed his intention of returning into Europe, and of giving chace to Julian; for he never ſpoke of this military expedition in any other light than that of a hunting party". In the camp of Hierapolis, in Syria, he communicated this deſign to his army; ſlightly

mentioned the guilt and raſhneſs of the Cæſar; and ventured to aſſure them, that if the mutineers of Gaul preſumed to meet them in the field, they would be unable to ſuſtain the fire of their eyes, and the irreſiſtible weight of their ſhout of onſet. The ſpeech of the emperor was received with military applauſe, and Theodotus, the preſident of the council of Hierapolis, requeſted, with tears of adulation, that *his* city might be adorned with the head of the vanquiſhed rebel [40]. A choſen detachment was diſpatched away in poſt-waggons, to ſecure, if it were yet poſſible, the paſs of Succi; the recruits, the horſes, the arms, and the magazines which had been prepared againſt Sapor, were appropriated to the ſervice of the civil war; and the domeſtic victories of Conſtantius inſpired his partiſans with the moſt ſanguine aſſurances of ſucceſs. The notary Gaudentius had occupied in his name the provinces of Africa; the ſubſiſtence of Rome was intercepted; and the diſtreſs of Julian was increaſed, by an unexpected event, which might have been productive of fatal conſequences. Julian had received the ſubmiſſion of two legions and a cohort of archers, who were ſtationed at Sirmium; but he ſuſpected, with reaſon, the fidelity of thoſe troops, which had been diſtinguiſhed by the emperor; and it was thought expedient, under the pretence of the expoſed ſtate of the Gallic frontier, to diſmiſs them from the moſt important ſcene of action. They advanced, with reluctance, as far as the confines of Italy; but as they dreaded the length of the way, and

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the ſavage fierceneſs of the Germans, they reſolved, by the inſtigation of one of their tribunes, to halt at Aquileia, and to erect the banners of Conſtantius on the walls of that impregnable city. The vigilance of Julian perceived at once the extent of the miſchief, and the neceſſity of applying an immediate remedy. By his order, Jovinus led back a part of the army into Italy; and the ſiege of Aquileia was formed with diligence, and proſecuted with vigour. But the legionaries, who ſeemed to have rejected the yoke of diſcipline, conducted the defence of the place with ſkill and perſeverance, invited the reſt of Italy to imitate the example of their courage and loyalty; and threatened the retreat of Julian, if he ſhould be forced to yield to the ſuperior numbers of the armies of the Eaſt [41].

and death of Conſtantius, A. D. 361, Nov. 3.

But the humanity of Julian was preſerved from the cruel alternative, which he pathetically laments, of deſtroying, or of being himſelf deſtroyed: and the ſeaſonable death of Conſtantius delivered the Roman empire from the calamities of civil war. The approach of winter could not detain the monarch at Antioch; and his favourites durſt not oppoſe his impatient deſire of revenge. A ſlight fever, which was perhaps occaſioned by the agitation of his ſpirits, was increaſed by the fatigues of the journey; and Conſtantius was obliged to halt at the little town of Mopſucrene, twelve miles beyond Tarſus, where he expired, after a ſhort illneſs, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign [42].

His genuine character, which was compoſed of pride and weakneſs, of ſuperſtition and cruelty, has been fully diſplayed in the preceding narrative of civil and eccleſiaſtical events. The long abuſe of power rendered him a conſiderable object in the eyes of his contemporaries; but as perſonal merit can alone deſerve the notice of poſterity, the laſt of the ſons of Conſtantine may be diſmiſſed from the world with the remark, that he inherited the defects, without the abilities, of his father. Before Conſtantius expired, he is ſaid to have named Julian for his ſucceſſor; nor does it ſeem improbable, that his anxious concern for the fate of a young and tender wife, whom he left with child, may have prevailed, in his laſt moments, over the harſher paſſions of hatred and revenge. Euſebius, and his guilty aſſociates, made a faint attempt to prolong the reign of the eunuchs, by the election of another emperor: but their intrigues were rejected with diſdain by an army which now abhorred the thought of civil diſcord; and two officers of rank were inſtantly diſpatched, to aſſure Julian, that every ſword in the empire would be drawn for his ſervice. The military deſigns of that prince, who had formed three different attacks againſt Thrace, were prevented by this fortunate event. Without ſhedding the blood of his fellow-citizens, he eſcaped the dangers of a doubtful conflict, and acquired the advantages of a complete victory. Impatient to viſit the place of his birth, and the new capital of the empire, he advanced from

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Naiſſus through the mountains of Hæmus, and the cities of Thrace. When he reached Heraclea, at the diſtance of ſixty miles, all Conſtantinople was poured forth to receive him; and he made his triumphal entry, amidſt the dutiful acclamations of the ſoldiers, the people, and the ſenate. An innumerable multitude preſſed around him with eager reſpect; and were perhaps diſappointed when they beheld the ſmall ſtature, and ſimple garb, of a hero, whoſe unexperienced youth had vanquiſhed the Barbarians of Germany, and who had now traverſed, in a ſucceſsful career, the whole continent of Europe, from the ſhores of the Atlantic to thoſe of the Boſphorus [41]. A few days afterwards, when the remains of the deceaſed emperor were landed in the harbour, the ſubjects of Julian applauded the real or affected humanity of their ſovereign. On foot, without his diadem, and clothed in a mourning habit, he accompanied the funeral as far as the church of the Holy Apoſtles, where the body was depoſited: and if theſe marks of reſpect may be interpreted as a ſelfiſh tribute to the birth and dignity of his Imperial kinſman, the tears of Julian profeſſed to the world, that he had forgot the injuries, and remembered only the obligations, which he had received from Conſtantius [44]. As ſoon as the legions of Aquileia were aſſured of the death of the emperor, they opened the gates of the city, and, by the ſacrifice of their guilty leaders, obtained an eaſy pardon from the prudence or lenity of Julian; who, in the thirty-ſecond year of his

Julian enters Conſtantinople, Dec. 11.

and is acknowledged by the whole empire.

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age, acquired the undiſputed poſſeſſion of the Roman empire [45].

His civil government, and private life.

Philoſophy had inſtructed Julian to compare the advantages of action and retirement; but the elevation of his birth, and the accidents of his life, never allowed him the freedom of choice. He might perhaps ſincerely have preferred the groves of the academy, and the ſociety of Athens; but he was conſtrained, at firſt by the will, and afterwards by the injuſtice, of Conſtantius, to expoſe his perſon and fame to the dangers of Imperial greatneſs; and to make himſelf accountable to the world, and to poſterity, for the happineſs of millions [46]. Julian recollected with terror the obſervation of his maſter Plato [47], that the government of our flocks and herds is always committed to beings of a ſuperior ſpecies; and that the conduct of nations requires and deſerves the celeſtial powers of the Gods or of the Genii. From this principle he juſtly concluded, that the man who preſumes to reign, ſhould aſpire to the perfection of the divine nature; that he ſhould purify his ſoul from her mortal and terreſtrial part; that he ſhould extinguiſh his appetites, enlighten his underſtanding, regulate his paſſions, and ſubdue the wild beaſt, which, according to the lively metaphor of Ariſtotle [48], ſeldom fails to aſcend the throne of a deſpot. The throne of Julian, which the death of Conſtantius fixed on an independent baſis, was the ſeat of reaſon, of virtue, and perhaps of vanity. He deſpiſed the honours, renounced the pleaſures, and diſcharged

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with inceſſant diligence the duties, of his exalted ſtation; and there were few among his ſubjects who would have conſented to relieve him from the weight of the diadem, had they been obliged to ſubmit their time and their actions to the rigorous laws which their philoſophic emperor impoſed on himſelf. One of his moſt intimate friends [*], who had often ſhared the frugal ſimplicity of his table, has remarked, that his light and ſparing diet (which was uſually of the vegetable kind) left his mind and body always free and active, for the various and important buſineſs of an author, a pontiff, a magiſtrate, a general, and a prince. In one and the ſame day, he gave audience to ſeveral ambaſſadors, and wrote, or dictated, a great number of letters to his generals, his civil magiſtrates, his private friends, and the different cities of his dominions. He liſtened to the memorials which had been received, conſidered the ſubject of the petitions, and ſignified his intentions more rapidly than they could be taken in ſhort-hand by the diligence of his ſecretaries. He poſſeſſed ſuch flexibility of thought, and ſuch firmneſs of attention, that he could employ his hand to write, his ear to liſten, and his voice to dictate; and purſue at once three ſeveral trains of ideas, without heſitation, and without error. While his miniſters repoſed, the prince flew with agility from one labour to another, and, after a haſty dinner, retired into his library, till the public buſineſs, which he had appointed for the evening, ſummoned him

him to interrupt the profecution of his ſtudies. The ſupper of the emperor was ſtill leſs ſubſtantial than the former meal; his ſleep was never clouded by the fumes of indigeſtion; and, except in the ſhort interval of a marriage, which was the effect of policy rather than love, the chaſte Julian never ſhared his bed with a female companion [50]. He was ſoon awakened by the entrance of freſh ſecretaries, who had ſlept the preceding day; and his ſervants were obliged to wait alternately, while their indefatigable maſter allowed himſelf ſcarcely any other refreſhment than the change of occupations. The predeceſſors of Julian, his uncle, his brother, and his couſin, indulged their puerile taſte for the games of the circus, under the ſpecious pretence of complying with the inclinations of the people; and they frequently remained the greateſt part of the day, as idle ſpectators, and as a part of the ſplendid ſpectacle, till the ordinary round of twenty-four races [51] was completely finiſhed. On ſolemn feſtivals, Julian, who felt and profeſſed an unfaſhionable diſlike to theſe frivolous amuſements, condeſcended to appear in the circus; and after beſtowing a careleſs glance on five or ſix of the races, he haſtily withdrew, with the impatience of a philoſopher, who conſidered every moment as loſt, that was not devoted to the advantage of the public, or the improvement of his own mind [52]. By this avarice of time, he ſeemed to protract the ſhort duration of his reign; and if the dates were leſs ſecurely aſcertained, we ſhould refuſe

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December, A. D. 361. March. A. D. 363.

to believe, that only ſixteen months elapſed between the death of Conſtantius and the departure of his ſucceſſor for the Perſian war. The actions of Julian can only be preſerved by the care of the hiſtorian; but the portion of his voluminous writings, which is ſtill extant, remains as a monument of the application, as well as of the genius, of the emperor. The Miſopogon, the Cæſars, ſeveral of his orations, and his elaborate work againſt the Chriſtian religion, were compoſed in the long nights of the two winters, the former of which he paſſed at Conſtantinople, and the latter at Antioch.

Reformation of the palace.

The reformation of the Imperial court was one of the firſt and moſt neceſſary acts of the government of Julian [11]. Soon after his entrance into the palace of Conſtantinople, he had occaſion for the ſervice of a barber. An officer, magnificently dreſſed, immediately preſented himſelf. "It is a barber," exclaimed the prince, with affected ſurpriſe, "that I want, and not a "receiver-general of the finances [12]." He queſtioned the man concerning the profits of his employment; and was informed, that beſides a large ſalary, and ſome valuable perquiſites, he enjoyed a daily allowance for twenty ſervants, and as many horſes. A thouſand barbers, a thouſand cup-bearers, a thouſand cooks, were diſtributed in the ſeveral offices of luxury; and the number of eunuchs could be compared only with the inſects of a ſummer's day [13]. The monarch who reſigned to his ſubjects the

ſuperiority of merit and virtue, was diſtinguiſhed by the oppreſſive magnificence of his dreſs, his table, his buildings, and his train. The ſtately palaces erected by Conſtantine and his ſons, were decorated with many coloured marbles, and ornaments of maſſy gold. The moſt exquiſite dainties were procured, to gratify their pride, rather than their taſte; birds of the moſt diſtant climates, fiſh from the moſt remote ſeas, fruits out of their natural ſeaſon, winter roſes, and ſummer ſnows [11]. The domeſtic crowd of the palace ſurpaſſed the expence of the legions; yet the ſmalleſt part of this coſtly multitude was ſubſervient to the uſe, or even to the ſplendor, of the throne. The monarch was diſgraced, and the people was injured, by the creation and ſale of an infinite number of obſcure, and even titular employments, and the moſt worthleſs of mankind might purchaſe the privilege of being maintained, without the neceſſity of labour, from the public revenue. The waſte of an enormous houſehold, the encreaſe of fees and perquiſites, which were ſoon claimed as a lawful debt, and the bribes which they extorted from thoſe who feared their enmity, or ſolicited their favour, ſuddenly enriched theſe haughty menials. They abuſed their fortune, without conſidering their paſt, or their future, condition; and their rapine and venality could be equalled only by the extravagance of their diſſipations. Their ſilken robes were embroidered with gold, their tables were ſerved with delicacy and profuſion; the houſes which they built for

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their own uſe, would have covered the farm of an ancient conſul; and the moſt honourable citizens were obliged to diſmount from their horſes, and reſpectfully to ſalute an eunuch whom they met on the public highway. The luxury of the palace excited the contempt and indignation of Julian, who uſually ſlept on the ground, who yielded with reluctance to the indiſpenſable calls of nature; and who placed his vanity, not in emulating, but in deſpiſing, the pomp of royalty. By the total extirpation of a miſchief which was magnified even beyond its real extent, he was impatient to relieve the diſtreſs, and to appeaſe the murmurs, of the people; who ſupport with leſs uneaſineſs the weight of taxes, if they are convinced that the fruits of their induſtry are appropriated to the ſervice of the ſtate. But in the execution of this ſalutary work, Julian is accuſed of proceeding with too much haſte and inconſiderate ſeverity. By a ſingle edict, he reduced the palace of Conſtantinople to an immenſe deſert, and diſmiſſed with ignominy the whole train of ſlaves and dependents [n], without providing any juſt, or at leaſt benevolent, exceptions, for the age, the ſervices, or the poverty, of the faithful domeſtics of the Imperial family. Such indeed was the temper of Julian, who ſeldom recollected the fundamental maxim of Ariſtotle, that true virtue is placed at an equal diſtance between the oppoſite vices. The ſplendid and effeminate dreſs of the Aſiatics, the curls and paint, the

collars and bracelets, which had appeared ſo ridiculous in the perſon of Conſtantine, were conſiſtently rejected by his philoſophic ſucceſſor. But with the fopperies, Julian affected to renounce the decencies, of dreſs; and ſeemed to value himſelf for his neglect of the laws of cleanlineſs. In a ſatirical performance, which was deſigned for the public eye, the emperor deſcants with pleaſure, and even with pride, on the length of his nails, and the inky blackneſs of his hands; proteſts, that although the greateſt part of his body was covered with hair, the uſe of the razor was confined to his head alone; and celebrates, with viſible complacency, the ſhaggy and *populous* [11] beard, which he fondly cheriſhed, after the example of the philoſophers of Greece. Had Julian conſulted the ſimple dictates of reaſon, the firſt magiſtrate of the Romans would have ſcorned the affectation of Diogenes, as well as that of Darius. CHAP. XXII.

But the work of public reformation would have remained imperfect, if Julian had only corrected the abuſes, without puniſhing the crimes, of his predeceſſor's reign. "We are now de- "livered," ſays he, in a familiar letter to one of his intimate friends, "we are now ſurpriſingly "delivered from the voracious jaws of the Hy- "dra". I do not mean to apply that epithet "to my brother Conſtantius. He is no more; "may the earth lie light on his head! But his "artful and cruel favourites ſtudied to deceive Chamber of Juſtice.

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" and exaſperate a prince, whoſe natural mild-
" neſs cannot be praiſed without ſome efforts of
" adulation. It is not, however, my intention,
" that even thoſe men ſhould be oppreſſed: they
" are accuſed, and they ſhall enjoy the benefit
" of a fair and impartial trial." To conduct this enquiry, Julian named ſix judges of the higheſt rank in the ſtate and army; and as he wiſhed to eſcape the reproach of condemning his perſonal enemies, he fixed this extraordinary tribunal at Chalcedon, on the Aſiatic ſide of the Boſphorus; and transferred to the commiſſioners an abſolute power to pronounce and execute their final ſentence, without delay, and without appeal. The office of preſident was exerciſed by the venerable præfect of the Eaſt, a *ſecond* Salluſt [60], whoſe virtues conciliated the eſteem of Greek ſophiſts, and of Chriſtian biſhops. He was aſſiſted by the eloquent Mamertinus [61], one of the conſuls elect, whoſe merit is loudly celebrated by the doubtful evidence of his own applauſe. But the civil wiſdom of two magiſtrates was overbalanced by the ferocious violence of four generals, Nevitta, Agilo, Jovinus, and Arbetio. Arbetio, whom the public would have ſeen with leſs ſurpriſe at the bar than on the bench, was ſuppoſed to poſſeſs the ſecret of the commiſſion; the armed and angry leaders of the Jovian and Herculian bands encompaſſed the tribunal, and the judges were alternately ſwayed by the laws of juſtice, and by the clamours of faction [62].

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Punishment of the innocent and the guilty.

The chamberlain Euſebius, who had ſo long abuſed the favour of Conſtantius, expiated, by an ignominious death, the inſolence, the corruption, and cruelty of his ſervile reign. The executions of Paul and Apodemius (the former of whom was burnt alive) were accepted as an inadequate atonement by the widows and orphans of ſo many hundred Romans, whom thoſe legal tyrants had betrayed and murdered. But Juſtice herſelf (if we may uſe the pathetic expreſſion of Ammianus [41]) appeared to weep over the fate of Urſulus, the treaſurer of the empire; and his blood accuſed the ingratitude of Julian, whoſe diſtreſs had been ſeaſonably relieved by the intrepid liberality of that honeſt miniſter. The rage of the ſoldiers, whom he had provoked by his indiſcretion, was the cauſe and the excuſe of his death; and the emperor, deeply wounded by his own reproaches and thoſe of the public, offered ſome conſolation to the family of Urſulus, by the reſtitution of his confiſcated fortunes. Before the end of the year in which they had been adorned with the enſigns of the prefecture and conſulſhip [42], Taurus and Florentius were reduced to implore the clemency of the inexorable tribunal of Chalcedon. The former was baniſhed to Vercellæ in Italy, and a ſentence of death was pronounced againſt the latter. A wiſe prince ſhould have rewarded the crime of Taurus: the faithful miniſter, when he was no longer able to oppoſe the progreſs of a rebel, had taken refuge in the court of his benefactor

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and his lawful ſovereign. But the guilt of Florentius juſtified the ſeverity of the judges; and his eſcape ſerved to diſplay the magnanimity of Julian; who nobly checked the intereſted diligence of an informer, and refuſed to learn what place concealed the wretched fugitive from his juſt reſentment [“]. Some months after the tribunal of Chalcedon had been diſſolved, the prætorian vicegerent of Africa, the notary Gaudentius, and Artemius [“] duke of Egypt, were executed at Antioch. Artemius had reigned the cruel and corrupt tyrant of a great province; Gaudentius had long practiſed the arts of calumny againſt the innocent, the virtuous, and even the perſon of Julian himſelf. Yet the circumſtances of their trial and condemnation were ſo unſkilfully managed, that theſe wicked men obtained, in the public opinion, the glory of ſuffering for the obſtinate loyalty with which they had ſupported the cauſe of Conſtantius. The reſt of his ſervants were protected by a general act of oblivion; and they were left to enjoy with impunity the bribes which they had accepted, either to defend the oppreſſed, or to oppreſs the friendleſs. This meaſure, which, on the ſoundeſt principles of policy, may deſerve our approbation, was executed in a manner which ſeemed to degrade the majeſty of the throne. Julian was tormented by the importunities of a multitude, particularly of Egyptians, who loudly redemanded the gifts which they had imprudently or illegally beſtowed; he foreſaw the endleſs

profecution of vexatious ſuits; and he engaged a promiſe, which ought always to have been ſacred, that if they would repair to Chalcedon, he would meet them in perſon, to hear and determine their complaints. But as ſoon as they were landed, he iſſued an abſolute order, which prohibited the watermen from tranſporting any Egyptian to Conſtantinople; and thus detained his diſappointed clients on the Aſiatic ſhore, till their patience and money being utterly exhauſted, they were obliged to return with indignant murmurs to their native country [67].

Clemency of Julian.

The numerous army of ſpies, of agents, and informers, enliſted by Conſtantius to ſecure the repoſe of one man, and to interrupt that of millions, was immediately diſbanded by his generous ſucceſſor. Julian was ſlow in his ſuſpicions, and gentle in his puniſhments; and his contempt of treaſon was the reſult of judgment, of vanity, and of courage. Conſcious of ſuperior merit, he was perſuaded that few among his ſubjects would dare, to meet him in the field, to attempt his life, or even to ſeat themſelves on his vacant throne. The philoſopher could excuſe the haſty ſallies of diſcontent; and the hero could deſpiſe the ambitious projects, which ſurpaſſed the fortune or the abilities of the raſh conſpirators. A citizen of Ancyra had prepared for his own uſe a purple garment; and this indiſcreet action, which, under the reign of Conſtantius, would have been conſidered as a capital offence [68], was reported to Julian by the officious importunity

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of a private enemy. The monarch, after making ſome inquiry into the rank and character of his rival, diſpatched the informer with a preſent of a pair of purple ſlippers, to complete the magnificence of his Imperial habit. A more dangerous conſpiracy was formed by ten of the domeſtic guards, who had reſolved to aſſaſſinate Julian in the field of exerciſe near Antioch. Their intemperance revealed their guilt; and they were conducted in chains to the preſence of their injured ſovereign, who, after a lively repreſentation of the wickedneſs and folly of their enterpriſe, inſtead of a death of torture, which they deſerved and expected, pronounced a ſentence of exile againſt the two principal offenders. The only inſtance in which Julian ſeemed to depart from his accuſtomed clemency, was the execution of a raſh youth, who with a feeble hand had aſpired to ſeize the reins of empire. But that youth was the ſon of Marcellus, the general of cavalry, who, in the firſt campaign of the Gallic war, had deſerted the ſtandard of the Cæſar, and the republic. Without appearing to indulge his perſonal reſentment, Julian might eaſily confound the crime of the ſon and of the father; but he was reconciled by the diſtreſs of Marcellus, and the liberality of the emperor endeavoured to heal the wound which had been inflicted by the hand of juſtice [69].

His love of freedom, and the republic.

Julian was not inſenſible of the advantages of freedom [70]. From his ſtudies he had imbibed the ſpirit of ancient ſages and heroes: his life

and fortunes had depended on the caprice of a tyrant; and when he aſcended the throne, his pride was ſometimes mortified by the reflection, that the ſlaves who would not dare to cenſure his defects, were not worthy to applaud his virtues [71]. He ſincerely abhorred the ſyſtem of Oriental deſpotiſm, which Diocletian, Conſtantine, and the patient habits of fourſcore years, had eſtabliſhed in the empire. A motive of ſuperſtition prevented the execution of the deſign which Julian had frequently meditated, of relieving his head from the weight of a coſtly diadem [72]: but he abſolutely refuſed the title of *Dominus*, or *Lord* [73], a word which was grown ſo familiar to the ears of the Romans, that they no longer remembered its ſervile and humiliating origin. The office, or rather the name, of conſul, was cheriſhed by a prince who contemplated with reverence the ruins of the republic; and the ſame behaviour which had been aſſumed by the prudence of Auguſtus, was adopted by Julian from choice and inclination. On the calends of January, at break of day, the new conſuls, Mamertinus and Nevitta, haſtened to the palace to ſalute the emperor. As ſoon as he was informed of their approach, he leaped from his throne, eagerly advanced to meet them, and compelled the bluſhing magiſtrates to receive the demonſtrations of his affected humility. From the palace they proceeded to the ſenate. The emperor, on foot, marched before their litters; and the gazing multitude admired the image of ancient

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A. D. 363. Jan. 1.

CHAP. XXII. times, or ſecretly blamed a conduct, which, in their eyes, degraded the majeſty of the purple [74]. But the behaviour of Julian was uniformly ſupported. During the games of the Circus, he had, imprudently or deſignedly, performed the manumiſſion of a ſlave in the preſence of the conſul. The moment he was reminded that he had treſpaſſed on the juriſdiction of *another* magiſtrate, he condemned himſelf to pay a fine of ten pounds of gold; and embraced this public occaſion of declaring to the world, that he was ſubject, like the reſt of his fellow-citizens, to the laws [75], and even to the forms, of the republic. The ſpirit of his adminiſtration, and his regard for the place of his nativity, induced Julian to confer on the ſenate of Conſtantinople, the ſame honours, privileges, and authority, which were ſtill enjoyed by the ſenate of ancient Rome [76]. A legal fiction was introduced, and gradually eſtabliſhed, that one half of the national council had migrated into the Eaſt: and the deſpotic ſucceſſors of Julian, accepting the title of Senators, acknowledged themſelves the members of a reſpectable body, which was permitted to repreſent the majeſty of the Roman name. From Conſtantinople, the attention of the monarch was extended to the municipal ſenates of the provinces. He aboliſhed, by repeated edicts, the unjuſt and pernicious exemptions, which had withdrawn ſo many idle citizens from the ſervice of their country; and by impoſing an equal diſtribution of public duties,

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His care of the Græcian cities.

he reſtored the ſtrength, the ſplendor, or, according to the glowing expreſſion of Libanius [77], the ſoul of the expiring cities of his empire. The venerable age of Greece excited the moſt tender compaſſion in the mind of Julian; which kindled into rapture when he recollected the gods; the heroes; and the men, ſuperior to heroes and to gods; who had bequeathed to the lateſt poſterity the monuments of their genius, or the example of their virtues. He relieved the diſtreſs, and reſtored the beauty, of the cities of Epirus and Peloponneſus [78]. Athens acknowledged him for her benefactor; Argos, for her deliverer. The pride of Corinth, again riſing from her ruins with the honours of a Roman colony, exacted a tribute from the adjacent republics, for the purpoſe of defraying the games of the Iſthmus, which were celebrated in the amphitheatre with the hunting of bears and panthers. From this tribute the cities of Elis, of Delphi, and of Argos, which had inherited from their remote anceſtors the ſacred office of perpetuating the Olympic, the Pythian, and the Nemean games, claimed a juſt exemption. The immunity of Elis and Delphi was reſpected by the Corinthians; but the poverty of Argos tempted the inſolence of oppreſſion; and the feeble complaints of its deputies were ſilenced by the decree of a provincial magiſtrate, who ſeems to have conſulted only the intereſt of the capital, in which he reſided. Seven years after this ſentence, Julian [79] allowed the cauſe to be referred to a ſuperior tribunal;

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and his eloquence was interpoſed, moſt probably with ſucceſs, in the defence of a city, which had been the royal ſeat of Agamemnon [80], and had given to Macedonia a race of kings and conquerors [81].

Julian, an orator and a judge.

The laborious adminiſtration of military and civil affairs, which were multiplied in proportion to the extent of the empire, exerciſed the abilities of Julian; but he frequently aſſumed the two characters of Orator [82] and of Judge [83], which are almoſt unknown to the modern ſovereigns of Europe. The arts of perſuaſion, ſo diligently cultivated by the firſt Cæſars, were neglected by the military ignorance and Aſiatic pride of their ſucceſſors; and if they condeſcended to harangue the ſoldiers, whom they feared, they treated with ſilent diſdain the ſenators, whom they deſpiſed. The aſſemblies of the ſenate, which Conſtantius had avoided, were conſidered by Julian as the place where he could exhibit, with the moſt propriety, the maxims of a republican, and the talents of a rhetorician. He alternately practiſed, as in a ſchool of declamation, the ſeveral modes of praiſe, of cenſure, of exhortation; and his friend Libanius has remarked, that the ſtudy of Homer taught him to imitate the ſimple, conciſe ſtyle of Menelaus, the copiouſneſs of Neſtor, whoſe words deſcended like the flakes of a winter's ſnow, or the pathetic and forcible eloquence of Ulyſſes. The functions of a judge, which are ſometimes incompatible with thoſe of a prince, were exerciſed by Julian, not only as a duty,

but as an amuſement; and although he might have truſted the integrity and diſcernment of his Prætorian præfects, he often placed himſelf by their ſide on the ſeat of judgment. The acute penetration of his mind was agreeably occupied in detecting and defeating the chicanery of the advocates, who laboured to diſguiſe the truth of facts, and to pervert the ſenſe of the laws. He ſometimes forgot the gravity of his ſtation, aſked indiſcreet or unſeaſonable queſtions, and betrayed, by the loudneſs of his voice, and the agitation of his body, the earneſt vehemence with which he maintained his opinion againſt the judges, the advocates, and their clients. But his knowledge of his own temper prompted him to encourage, and even to ſolicit, the reproof of his friends and miniſters; and whenever they ventured to oppoſe the irregular ſallies of his paſſions, the ſpectators could obſerve the ſhame, as well as the gratitude, of their monarch. The decrees of Julian were almoſt always founded on the principles of juſtice; and he had the firmneſs to reſiſt the two moſt dangerous temptations, which aſſault the tribunal of a ſovereign, under the ſpecious forms of compaſſion and equity. He decided the merits of the cauſe without weighing the circumſtances of the parties; and the poor, whom he wiſhed to relieve, were condemned to ſatisfy the juſt demands of a noble and wealthy adverſary. He carefully diſtinguiſhed the judge from the legiſlator[84]; and though he meditated a neceſſary reformation of the Roman juriſprudence, he

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pronounced ſentence according to the ſtrict and literal interpretation of thoſe laws, which the magiſtrates were bound to execute, and the ſubjects to obey.

His character.

The generality of princes, if they were ſtripped of their purple, and caſt naked into the world, would immediately ſink to the loweſt rank of ſociety, without a hope of emerging from their obſcurity. But the perſonal merit of Julian was, in ſome meaſure, independent of his fortune. Whatever had been his choice of life; by the force of intrepid courage, lively wit, and intenſe application, he would have obtained, or at leaſt he would have deſerved, the higheſt honours of his profeſſion; and Julian might have raiſed himſelf to the rank of miniſter, or general, of the ſtate in which he was born a private citizen. If the jealous caprice of power had diſappointed his expectations; if he had prudently declined the paths of greatneſs, the employment of the ſame talents in ſtudious ſolitude, would have placed, beyond the reach of kings, his preſent happineſs and his immortal fame. When we inſpect, with minute, or perhaps malevolent attention, the portrait of Julian, ſomething ſeems wanting to the grace and perfection of the whole figure. His genius was leſs powerful and ſublime than that of Cæſar; nor did he poſſeſs the conſummate prudence of Auguſtus. The virtues of Trajan appear more ſteady and natural, and the philoſophy of Marcus is more ſimple and conſiſtent. Yet Julian ſuſtained adverſity with firmneſs,

firmneſs, and proſperity with moderation. After an interval of one hundred and twenty years from the death of Alexander Severus, the Romans beheld an emperor who made no diſtinction between his duties and his pleaſures; who laboured to relieve the diſtreſs, and to revive the ſpirit, of his ſubjects; and who endeavoured always to connect authority with merit, and happineſs with virtue. Even faction, and religious faction, was conſtrained to acknowledge the ſuperiority of his genius, in peace as well as in war; and to confeſs, with a ſigh, that the apoſtate Julian was a lover of his country, and that he deſerved the empire of the world [55]. CHAP. XXII.

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The Religion of Julian, — Univerſal Toleration. — He attempts to reſtore and reform the Pagan Worſhip — to rebuild the Temple of Jeruſalem. — His artful Perſecution of the Chriſtians. — Mutual Zeal and Injuſtice.

CHAP. XXIII. Religion of Julian.

THE character of Apoſtate has injured the reputation of Julian; and the enthuſiaſm which clouded his virtues, has exaggerated the real and apparent magnitude of his faults. Our partial ignorance may repreſent him as a philoſophic monarch, who ſtudied to protect, with an equal hand, the religious factions of the empire; and to allay the theological fever which had inflamed the minds of the people, from the edicts of Diocletian to the exile of Athanaſius. A more accurate view of the character and conduct of Julian, will remove this favourable prepoſſeſſion for a prince who did not eſcape the general contagion of the times. We enjoy the ſingular advantage of comparing the pictures which have been delineated by his fondeſt admirers, and his implacable enemies. The actions of Julian are faithfully related by a judicious and candid hiſtorian, the impartial ſpectator of his life and death. The unanimous evidence of his contemporaries is confirmed by the public and private declarations of the emperor himſelf; and his

various writings expreſs the uniform tenor of his religious ſentiments, which policy would have prompted him to diſſemble rather than to affect. A devout and ſincere attachment for the gods of Athens and Rome, conſtituted the ruling paſſion of Julian [1]; the powers of an enlightened underſtanding were betrayed and corrupted by the influence of ſuperſtitious prejudice; and the phantoms which exiſted only in the mind of the emperor, had a real and pernicious effect on the government of the empire. The vehement zeal of the Chriſtians, who deſpiſed the worſhip, and overturned the altars, of thoſe fabulous deities, engaged their votary in a ſtate of irreconcileable hoſtility with a very numerous party of his ſubjects; and he was ſometimes tempted, by the deſire of victory, or the ſhame of a repulſe, to violate the laws of prudence, and even of juſtice. The triumph of the party, which he deſerted and oppoſed, has fixed a ſtain of infamy on the name of Julian; and the unſucceſsful apoſtate has been overwhelmed with a torrent of pious invectives, of which the ſignal was given by the ſonorous trumpet [2] of Gregory Nazianzen [3]. The intereſting nature of the events which were crowded into the ſhort reign of this active emperor, deſerve a juſt and circumſtantial narrative. His motives, his counſels, and his actions, as far as they are connected with the hiſtory of religion, will be the ſubject of the preſent chapter.

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His education and apoſtacy.

The cauſe of his ſtrange and fatal apoſtacy, may be derived from the early period of his life,

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when he was left an orphan in the hands of the murderers of his family. The names of Chriſt and of Conſtantius, the ideas of ſlavery and of religion, were ſoon aſſociated in a youthful imagination, which was ſuſceptible of the moſt lively impreſſions. The care of his infancy was entruſted to Euſebius, biſhop of Nicomedia [4], who was related to him on the ſide of his mother; and till Julian reached the twentieth year of his age, he received from his Chriſtian preceptors the education not of a hero, but of a ſaint. The emperor, leſs jealous of a heavenly, than of an earthly crown, contented himſelf with the imperfect character of a catechumen, while he beſtowed the advantages of baptiſm [5] on the nephews of Conſtantine [6]. They were even admitted to the inferior offices of the eccleſiaſtical order; and Julian publicly read the Holy Scriptures in the church of Nicomedia. The ſtudy of religion, which they aſſiduouſly cultivated, appeared to produce the faireſt fruits of faith and devotion [7]. They prayed, they faſted, they diſtributed alms to the poor, gifts to the clergy, and oblations to the tombs of the martyrs; and the ſplendid monument of St. Mamas, at Cæſarea, was erected, or at leaſt was undertaken, by the joint labour of Gallus and Julian [8]. They reſpectfully converſed with the biſhops who were eminent for ſuperior ſanctity, and ſolicited the benediction of the monks and hermits, who had introduced into Cappadocia the voluntary hardſhips of the aſcetic life [9]. As the two princes

advanced towards the years of manhood, they discovered, in their religious sentiments, the difference of their characters. The dull and obstinate understanding of Gallus embraced, with implicit zeal, the doctrines of Christianity, which never influenced his conduct, or moderated his passions. The mild disposition of the younger brother was less repugnant to the precepts of the Gospel; and his active curiosity might have been gratified by a theological system, which explains the mysterious essence of the Deity, and opens the boundless prospect of invisible and future worlds. But the independent spirit of Julian refused to yield the passive and unresisting obedience which was required, in the name of religion, by the haughty ministers of the church. Their speculative opinions were imposed as positive laws, and guarded by the terrors of eternal punishments; but while they prescribed the rigid formulary of the thoughts, the words, and the actions of the young prince; whilst they silenced his objections, and severely checked the freedom of his enquiries, they secretly provoked his impatient genius to disclaim the authority of his ecclesiastical guides. He was educated in the Lesser Asia, amidst the scandals of the Arian controversy [*]. The fierce contests of the Eastern bishops, the incessant alterations of their creeds, and the profane motives which appeared to actuate their conduct, insensibly strengthened the prejudice of Julian, that they neither understood nor believed the religion for which they so fiercely

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contended. Inſtead of liſtening to the proofs of Chriſtianity with that favourable attention which adds weight to the moſt reſpectable evidence, he heard with ſuſpicion, and diſputed with obſtinacy and acuteneſs, the doctrines for which he already entertained an invincible averſion. Whenever the young princes were directed to compoſe declamations on the ſubject of the prevailing controverſies, Julian always declared himſelf the advocate of Paganiſm; under the ſpecious excuſe that, in the defence of the weaker cauſe his learning and ingenuity might be more advantageouſly exerciſed and diſplayed.

He embraces the mythology of Paganiſm.

As ſoon as Gallus was inveſted with the honours of the purple, Julian was permitted to breathe the air of freedom, of literature, and of Paganiſm [11]. The crowd of ſophiſts, who were attracted by the taſte and liberality of their royal pupil, had formed a ſtrict alliance between the learning and the religion of Greece; and the poems of Homer, inſtead of being admired as the original productions of human genius, were ſeriouſly aſcribed to the heavenly inſpiration of Apollo and the Muſes. The deities of Olympus, as they are painted by the immortal bard, imprint themſelves on the minds which are the leaſt addicted to ſuperſtitious credulity. Our familiar knowledge of their names and characters, their forms and attributes, *ſeems* to beſtow on thoſe airy beings a real and ſubſtantial exiſtence; and the pleaſing enchantment produces an imperfect and momentary aſſent of the imagination to thoſe

fables, which are the moſt repugnant to our reaſon and experience. In the age of Julian, every circumſtance contributed to prolong and fortify the illuſion; the magnificent temples of Greece and Aſia; the works of thoſe artiſts who had expreſſed, in painting or in ſculpture, the divine conceptions of the poet; the pomp of feſtivals and ſacrifices; the ſucceſsful arts of divination; the popular traditions of oracles and prodigies; and the ancient practice of two thouſand years. The weakneſs of polytheiſm was, in ſome meaſure, excuſed by the moderation of its claims; and the devotion of the Pagans was not incompatible with the moſt licentious ſcepticiſm [11]. Inſtead of an indiviſible and regular ſyſtem, which occupies the whole extent of the believing mind, the mythology of the Greeks was compoſed of a thouſand looſe and flexible parts, and the ſervant of the gods was at liberty to define the degree and meaſure of his religious faith. The creed which Julian adopted for his own uſe, was of the largeſt dimenſions; and, by a ſtrange contradiction, he diſdained the ſalutary yoke of the Goſpel, whilſt he made a voluntary offering of his reaſon on the altars of Jupiter and Apollo. One of the orations of Julian is conſecrated to the honour of Cybele, the mother of the gods, who required from her effeminate prieſts the bloody ſacrifice, ſo raſhly performed by the madneſs of the Phrygian boy. The pious emperor condeſcends to relate, without a bluſh, and without a ſmile, the voyage of the goddeſs

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from the ſhores of Pergamus to the mouth of the Tyber; and the ſtupendous miracle, which convinced the ſenate and people of Rome that the lump of clay, which their ambaſſadors had tranſported over the ſeas, was endowed with life, and ſentiment, and divine power [13]. For the truth of this prodigy, he appeals to the public monuments of the city; and cenſures, with ſome acrimony, the ſickly and affected taſte of thoſe men, who impertinently derided the ſacred traditions of their anceſtors [14].

The allegories.

But the devout philoſopher, who ſincerely embraced, and warmly encouraged, the ſuperſtition of the people, reſerved for himſelf the privilege of a liberal interpretation, and ſilently withdrew from the foot of the altars into the ſanctuary of the temple. The extravagance of the Grecian mythology proclaimed with a clear and audible voice, that the pious enquirer, inſtead of being ſcandalized or ſatisfied with the literal ſenſe, ſhould diligently explore the occult wiſdom, which had been diſguiſed, by the prudence of antiquity, under the maſk of folly and of fable [15]. The philoſophers of the Platonic ſchool [16], Plotinus, Porphyry, and the divine Iamblichus, were admired as the moſt ſkilful maſters of this allegorical ſcience, which laboured to ſoften and harmonize the deformed features of paganiſm. Julian himſelf, who was directed in the myſterious purſuit by Ædeſius, the venerable ſucceſſor of Iamblichus, aſpired to the poſſeſſion of a treaſure, which he eſteemed, if we may credit

his ſolemn aſſeverations, far above the empire of the world [17]. It was indeed a treaſure, which derived its value only from opinion; and every artiſt, who flattered himſelf that he had extracted the precious ore from the ſurrounding droſs, claimed an equal right of ſtamping the name and figure the moſt agreeable to his peculiar fancy. The fable of Atys and Cybele had been already explained by Porphyry; but his labours ſerved only to animate the pious induſtry of Julian, who invented and publiſhed his own allegory of that ancient and myſtic tale. This freedom of interpretation, which might gratify the pride of the Platoniſts, expoſed the vanity of their art. Without a tedious detail, the modern reader could not form a juſt idea of the ſtrange alluſions, the forced etymologies, the ſolemn trifling, and the impenetrable obſcurity of theſe ſages, who profeſſed to reveal the ſyſtem of the univerſe. As the traditions of pagan mythology were variouſly related, the ſacred interpreters were at liberty to ſelect the moſt convenient circumſtances; and as they tranſlated an arbitrary cypher, they could extract from *any* fable *any* ſenſe which was adapted to their favourite ſyſtem of religion and philoſophy. The laſcivious form of a naked Venus was tortured into the diſcovery of ſome moral precept, or ſome phyſical truth; and the caſtration of Atys explained the revolution of the ſun between the tropics, or the ſeparation of the human ſoul from vice and error [18].

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The theological ſyſtem of Julian appears to have contained the ſublime and important principles of natural religion. But as the faith, which is not founded on revelation, muſt remain deſtitute of any firm aſſurance, the diſciple of Plato imprudently relapſed into the habits of vulgar ſuperſtition; and the popular and philoſophic notion of the Deity ſeems to have been confounded in the practice, the writings, and even in the mind of Julian [n]. The pious emperor acknowledged and adored the Eternal Cauſe of the univerſe, to whom he aſcribed all the perfections of an infinite nature, inviſible to the eyes, and inacceſſible to the underſtanding, of feeble mortals. The Supreme God had created, or rather, in the Platonic language, had generated, the gradual ſucceſſion of dependent ſpirits, of gods, of dæmons, of heroes, and of men; and every being which derived its exiſtence immediately from the Firſt Cauſe, received the inherent gift of immortality. That ſo precious an advantage might not be laviſhed upon unworthy objects, the Creator had entruſted to the ſkill and power of the inferior gods, the office of forming the human body, and of arranging the beautiful harmony of the animal, the vegetable, and the mineral kingdoms. To the conduct of theſe divine miniſters he delegated the temporal government of this lower world; but their imperfect adminiſtration is not exempt from diſcord or error. The earth, and its inhabitants, are divided among them, and the characters of Mars or Minerva, of Mercury or Venus,

may be distinctly traced in the laws and manners of their peculiar votaries. As long as our immortal souls are confined in a mortal prison, it is our interest, as well as our duty, to solicit the favour, and to deprecate the wrath, of the powers of heaven; whose pride is gratified by the devotion of mankind; and whose grosser parts may be supposed to derive some nourishment from the fumes of sacrifice [20]. The inferior gods might sometimes condescend to animate the statues, and to inhabit the temples, which were dedicated to their honour. They might occasionally visit the earth, but the heavens were the proper throne and symbol of their glory. The invariable order of the sun, moon, and stars, was hastily admitted by Julian, as a proof of their *eternal* duration; and their eternity was a sufficient evidence that they were the workmanship, not of an inferior deity, but of the Omnipotent King. In the system of the Platonists, the visible, was a type of the invisible, world. The celestial bodies, as they were informed by a divine spirit, might be considered as the objects the most worthy of religious worship. The SUN, whose genial influence pervades and sustains the universe, justly claimed the adoration of mankind, as the bright representative of the LOGOS, the lively, the rational, the beneficent image of the intellectual Father [21].

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In every age, the absence of genuine inspiration is supplied by the strong illusions of enthusiasm, and the mimic arts of imposture. If, in the time of Julian, these arts had been practised

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only by the pagan prieſts, for the ſupport of an expiring cauſe, ſome indulgence might perhaps be allowed to the intereſt and habits of the ſacerdotal character. But it may appear a ſubject of ſurpriſe and ſcandal, that the philoſophers themſelves ſhould have contributed to abuſe the ſuperſtitious credulity of mankind [22], and that the Grecian myſteries ſhould have been ſupported by the magic or theurgy of the modern Platoniſts. They arrogantly pretended to controul the order of nature, to explore the ſecrets of futurity, to command the ſervice of the inferior dæmons, to enjoy the view and converſation of the ſuperior gods, and, by diſengaging the ſoul from her material bands, to reunite that immortal particle with the Infinite and Divine Spirit.

Initiation and fanaticiſm of Julian.

The devout and fearleſs curioſity of Julian tempted the philoſophers with the hopes of an eaſy conqueſt; which, from the ſituation of their young proſelyte, might be productive of the moſt important conſequences [23]. Julian imbibed the firſt rudiments of the Platonic doctrines from the mouth of Ædeſius, who had fixed at Pergamus his wandering and perſecuted ſchool. But as the declining ſtrength of that venerable ſage was unequal to the ardour, the diligence, the rapid conception of his pupil, two of his moſt learned diſciples, Chryſanthes and Euſebius, ſupplied, at his own deſire, the place of their aged maſter. Theſe philoſophers ſeem to have prepared and diſtributed their reſpective parts; and they artfully contrived, by dark hints, and affected

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diſputes, to excite the impatient hopes of the *aſpirant*, till they delivered him into the hands of their aſſociate Maximus, the boldeſt and moſt ſkilful maſter of the Theurgic ſcience. By his hands, Julian was ſecretly initiated at Epheſus, in the twentieth year of his age. His reſidence at Athens confirmed this unnatural alliance of philoſophy and ſuperſtition. He obtained the privilege of a ſolemn initiation into the myſteries of Eleuſis, which, amidſt the general decay of the Grecian worſhip, ſtill retained ſome veſtiges of their primæval ſanctity; and ſuch was the zeal of Julian, that he afterwards invited the Eleuſinian pontiff to the court of Gaul, for the ſole purpoſe of conſummating, by myſtic rites and ſacrifices, the great work of his ſanctification. As theſe ceremonies were performed in the depth of caverns, and in the ſilence of the night; and as the inviolable ſecret of the myſteries was preſerved by the diſcretion of the initiated, I ſhall not preſume to deſcribe the horrid ſounds, and fiery apparitions, which were preſented to the ſenſes, or the imagination, of the credulous aſpirant [24], till the viſions of comfort and knowledge broke upon him in a blaze of celeſtial light [25]. In the caverns of Epheſus and Eleuſis, the mind of Julian was penetrated with ſincere, deep, and unalterable enthuſiaſm; though he might ſometimes exhibit the viciſſitudes of pious fraud and hypocriſy, which may be obſerved, or at leaſt ſuſpected, in the characters of the moſt conſcientious fanatics. From that moment he conſecrated his life to the

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ſervice of the gods; and while the occupations of war, of government, and of ſtudy, ſeemed to claim the whole meaſure of his time, a ſtated portion of the hours of the night was invariably reſerved for the exerciſe of private devotion. The temperance which adorned the ſevere manners of the ſoldier and the philoſopher, was connected with ſome ſtrict and frivolous rules of religious abſtinence; and it was in honour of Pan or Mercury, of Hecate or Iſis, that Julian, on particular days, denied himſelf the uſe of ſome particular food, which might have been offenſive to his tutelar deities. By theſe voluntary faſts, he prepared his ſenſes and his underſtanding for the frequent and familiar viſits with which he was honoured by the celeſtial powers. Notwithſtanding the modeſt ſilence of Julian himſelf, we may learn from his faithful friend, the orator Libanius, that he lived in a perpetual intercourſe with the gods and goddeſſes; that they deſcended upon earth, to enjoy the converſation of their favourite hero; that they gently interrupted his ſlumbers, by touching his hand or his hair; that they warned him of every impending danger, and conducted him, by their infallible wiſdom, in every action of his life; and that he had acquired ſuch an intimate knowledge of his heavenly gueſts, as readily to diſtinguiſh the voice of Jupiter from that of Minerva, and the form of Apollo from the figure of Hercules [**]. Theſe ſleeping or waking viſions, the ordinary effects

of abſtinence and fanaticiſm, would almoſt degrade the emperor to the level of an Egyptian monk. But the uſeleſs lives of Antony or Pachomius were conſumed in theſe vain occupations. Julian could break from the dream of ſuperſtition to arm himſelf for battle; and after vanquiſhing in the field the enemies of Rome, he calmly retired into his tent, to dictate the wiſe and ſalutary laws of an empire, or to indulge his genius in the elegant purſuits of literature and philoſophy.

His religious diſſimulation.

The important ſecret of the apoſtacy of Julian was entruſted to the fidelity of the *initiated*, with whom he was united by the ſacred ties of friendſhip and religion [17]. The pleaſing rumour was cautiouſly circulated among the adherents of the ancient worſhip; and his future greatneſs became the object of the hopes, the prayers, and the predictions of the pagans, in every province of the empire. From the zeal and virtues of their royal proſelyte, they fondly expected the cure of every evil, and the reſtoration of every bleſſing; and inſtead of diſapproving of the ardour of their pious wiſhes, Julian ingenuouſly confeſſed, that he was ambitious to attain a ſituation, in which he might be uſeful to his country, and to his religion. But this religion was viewed with an hoſtile eye by the ſucceſſor of Conſtantine, whoſe capricious paſſions alternately ſaved and threatened the life of Julian. The arts of magic and divination were ſtrictly prohibited under a deſpotic government, which condeſcended to fear them; and if the pagans were reluctantly indulged

CHAP. XXIII. in the exerciſe of their ſuperſtition, the rank of Julian would have excepted him from the general toleration. The apoſtate ſoon became the preſumptive heir of the monarchy, and his death could alone have appeaſed the juſt apprehenſions of the Chriſtians [28]. But the young prince, who aſpired to the glory of a hero rather than of a martyr, conſulted his ſafety by diſſembling his religion; and the eaſy temper of polytheiſm permitted him to join in the public worſhip of a ſect which he inwardly deſpiſed. Libanius has conſidered the hypocriſy of his friend as a ſubject, not of cenſure, but of praiſe. "As the ſtatues of "the gods," ſays that orator, "which have been "defiled with filth, are again placed in a "magnificent temple; ſo the beauty of truth "was ſeated in the mind of Julian, after it "had been purified from the errors and follies "of his education. His ſentiments were changed; "but as it would have been dangerous to have "avowed his ſentiments, his conduct ſtill con-"tinued the ſame. Very different from the "aſs in Æſop, who diſguiſed himſelf with a "lion's hide, our lion was obliged to conceal "himſelf under the ſkin of an aſs; and, while "he embraced the dictates of reaſon, to obey "the laws of prudence and neceſſity [29]." The diſſimulation of Julian laſted above ten years, from his ſecret initiation at Epheſus, to the beginning of the civil war; when he declared himſelf at once the implacable enemy of Chriſt and of Conſtantius. This ſtate of conſtraint might

might contribute to ſtrengthen his devotion; and as ſoon as he had ſatisfied the obligation of aſſiſting, on ſolemn feſtivals, at the aſſemblies of the Chriſtians, Julian returned, with the impatience of a lover, to burn his free and voluntary incenſe in the domeſtic chapels of Jupiter and Mercury. But as every act of diſſimulation muſt be painful to an ingenuous ſpirit, the profeſſion of Chriſtianity encreaſed the averſion of Julian for a religion, which oppreſſed the freedom of his mind, and compelled him to hold a conduct repugnant to the nobleſt attributes of human nature, ſincerity and courage. CHAP. XXIII.

The inclination of Julian might prefer the gods of Homer, and of the Scipios, to the new faith, which his uncle had eſtabliſhed in the Roman empire; and in which he himſelf had been ſanctified by the ſacrament of baptiſm. But as a philoſopher, it was incumbent on him to juſtify his diſſent from Chriſtianity, which was ſupported by the number of its converts, by the chain of prophecy, the ſplendour of miracles, and the weight of evidence. The elaborate work [30], which he compoſed amidſt the preparations of the Perſian war, contained the ſubſtance of thoſe arguments which he had long revolved in his mind. Some fragments have been tranſcribed and preſerved, by his adverſary, the vehement Cyril of Alexandria [31]; and they exhibit a very ſingular mixture of wit and learning, of ſophiſtry and fanaticiſm. The elegance of the ſtyle, and the rank of the author, recommended

He writes againſt Chriſtianity.

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his writings to the public attention [12]; and in the impious liſt of the enemies of Chriſtianity, the celebrated name of Porphyry was effaced by the ſuperior merit or reputation of Julian. The minds of the faithful were either ſeduced, or ſcandalized, or alarmed; and the pagans, who ſometimes preſumed to engage in the unequal diſpute, derived from the popular work of their Imperial miſſionary an inexhauſtible ſupply of fallacious objections. But in the aſſiduous proſecution of theſe theological ſtudies, the emperor of the Romans imbibed the illiberal prejudices and paſſions of a polemic divine. He contracted an irrevocable obligation, to maintain and propagate his religious opinions; and whilſt he ſecretly applauded the ſtrength and dexterity with which he wielded the weapons of controverſy, he was tempted to diſtruſt the ſincerity, or to deſpiſe the underſtandings, of his antagoniſts, who could obſtinately reſiſt the force of reaſon and eloquence.

Univerſal toleration.

The Chriſtians, who beheld with horror and indignation the apoſtacy of Julian, had much more to fear from his power than from his arguments. The pagans, who were conſcious of his fervent zeal, expected, perhaps with impatience, that the flames of perſecution ſhould be immediately kindled againſt the enemies of the gods; and that the ingenious malice of Julian would invent ſome cruel refinements of death and torture, which had been unknown to the rude and inexperienced fury of his predeceſſors. But the hopes, as well as the fears, of the religious

factions were apparently disappointed, by the prudent humanity of a prince [11], who was careful of his own fame, of the public peace, and of the rights of mankind. Instructed by history and reflection, Julian was persuaded, that if the diseases of the body may sometimes be cured by salutary violence, neither steel nor fire can eradicate the erroneous opinions of the mind. The reluctant victim may be dragged to the foot of the altar; but the heart still abhors and disclaims the sacrilegious act of the hand. Religious obstinacy is hardened and exasperated by oppression; and, as soon as the persecution subsides, those who have yielded, are restored as penitents, and those who have resisted, are honoured as saints and martyrs. If Julian adopted the unsuccessful cruelty of Diocletian and his colleagues, he was sensible that he should stain his memory with the name of tyrant, and add new glories to the Catholic church, which had derived strength and encrease from the severity of the pagan magistrates. Actuated by these motives, and apprehensive of disturbing the repose of an unsettled reign, Julian surprised the world by an edict, which was not unworthy of a statesman, or a philosopher. He extended to all the inhabitants of the Roman world, the benefits of a free and equal toleration, and the only hardship which he inflicted on the Christians, was to deprive them of the power of tormenting their fellow-subjects, whom they stigmatised with the odious titles of idolaters and heretics. The

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CHAP. XXIII. Pagans received a gracious permiſſion, or rather an expreſs order, to open ALL their temples [34]; and they were at once delivered from the oppreſſive laws, and arbitrary vexations, which they had ſuſtained under the reign of Conſtantine, and of his ſons. At the ſame time, the biſhops and clergy, who had been baniſhed by the Arian monarch, were recalled from exile, and reſtored to their reſpective churches; the Donatiſts, the Novatians, the Macedonians, the Eunomians, and thoſe who, with a more proſperous fortune, adhered to the doctrine of the council of Nice. Julian, who underſtood and derided their theological diſputes, invited to the palace the leaders of the hoſtile ſects; that he might enjoy the agreeable ſpectacle of their furious encounters. The clamour of controverſy ſometimes provoked the emperor to exclaim, "Hear me! the Franks "have heard me, and the Alemanni;" but he ſoon diſcovered that he was now engaged with more obſtinate and implacable enemies; and though he exerted the powers of oratory to perſuade them to live in concord, or at leaſt in peace, he was perfectly ſatisfied, before he diſmiſſed them from his preſence, that he had nothing to dread from the union of the Chriſtians. The impartial Ammianus has aſcribed this affected clemency to the deſire of fomenting the inteſtine diviſions of the church; and the inſidious deſign of undermining the foundations of Chriſtianity, was inſeparably connected with the zeal, which Julian profeſſed, to reſtore the ancient religion of the empire [35].

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Zeal and devotion of Julian in the reſtoration of paganiſm.

As ſoon as he aſcended the throne, he aſſumed, according to the cuſtom of his predeceſſors, the character of ſupreme pontiff; not only as the moſt honourable title of Imperial greatneſs, but as a ſacred and important office; the duties of which he was reſolved to execute with pious diligence. As the buſineſs of the ſtate prevented the emperor from joining every day in the public devotion of his ſubjects, he dedicated a domeſtic chapel to his tutelar deity the Sun; his gardens were filled with ſtatues and altars of the gods; and each apartment of the palace diſplayed the appearance of a magnificent temple. Every morning he ſaluted the parent of light with a ſacrifice; the blood of another victim was ſhed at the moment when the Sun ſunk below the horizon; and the Moon, the Stars, and the Genii of the night received their reſpective and ſeaſonable honours from the indefatigable devotion of Julian. On ſolemn feſtivals, he regularly viſited the temple of the god or goddeſs to whom the day was peculiarly conſecrated, and endeavoured to excite the religion of the magiſtrates and people by the example of his own zeal. Inſtead of maintaining the lofty ſtate of a monarch, diſtinguiſhed by the ſplendor of his purple, and encompaſſed by the golden ſhields of his guards, Julian ſolicited, with reſpectful eagerneſs, the meaneſt offices which contributed to the worſhip of the gods. Amidſt the ſacred but licentious crowd of prieſts, of inferior miniſters, and of female dancers, who were dedicated to the

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ſervice of the temple, it was the buſineſs of the emperor to bring the wood, to blow the fire, to handle the knife, to ſlaughter the victim, and thruſting his bloody hands into the bowels of the expiring animal, to draw forth the heart or liver, and to read, with the conſummate ſkill of an haruſpex, the imaginary ſigns of future events. The wiſeſt of the pagans cenſured this extravagant ſuperſtition, which affected to deſpiſe the reſtraints of prudence and decency. Under the reign of a prince, who practiſed the rigid maxims of œconomy, the expence of religious worſhip conſumed a very large portion of the revenue; a conſtant ſupply of the ſcarceſt and moſt beautiful birds was tranſported from diſtant climates, to bleed on the altars of the gods; an hundred oxen were frequently ſacrificed by Julian on one and the ſame day; and it ſoon became a popular jeſt, that if he ſhould return with conqueſt from the Perſian war, the breed of horned cattle muſt infallibly be extinguiſhed. Yet this expence may appear inconſiderable, when it is compared with the ſplendid preſents which were offered, either by the hand, or by order, of the emperor, to all the celebrated places of devotion in the Roman world; and with the ſums allotted to repair and decorate the ancient temples, which had ſuffered the ſilent decay of time, or the recent injuries of Chriſtian rapine. Encouraged by the example, the exhortations, the liberality, of their pious ſovereign, the cities and families reſumed the practice of their neglected

ceremonies. "Every part of the world," exclaims Libanius, with devout tranſport, "diſplayed "the triumph of religion; and the grateful "proſpect of flaming altars, bleeding victims, "the ſmoke of incenſe, and a ſolemn train of "prieſts and prophets, without fear and without "danger. The ſound of prayer and of muſic "was heard on the tops of the higheſt moun- "tains; and the ſame ox afforded a ſacrifice for "the gods, and a ſupper for their joyous "votaries [36]." CHAP. XXIII.

Reformation of paganiſm.

But the genius and power of Julian were unequal to the enterpriſe of reſtoring a religion, which was deſtitute of theological principles, of moral precepts, and of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline; which rapidly haſtened to decay and diſſolution, and was not ſuſceptible of any ſolid or conſiſtent reformation. The juriſdiction of the ſupreme pontiff, more eſpecially after that office had been united with the Imperial dignity, comprehended the whole extent of the Roman empire. Julian named for his vicars, in the ſeveral provinces, the prieſts and philoſophers, whom he eſteemed the beſt qualified to co-operate in the execution of his great deſign; and his paſtoral letters [37], if we may uſe that name, ſtill repreſent a very curious ſketch of his wiſhes and intentions. He directs, that in every city the ſacerdotal order ſhould be compoſed, without any diſtinction of birth or fortune, of thoſe perſons who were the moſt conſpicuous for their love of the gods, and of men. "If they are guilty," continues he, "of

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" any ſcandalous offence, they ſhould be cenſured
" or degraded by the ſuperior pontiff; but, as
" long as they retain their rank, they are entitled
" to the reſpect of the magiſtrates and people.
" Their humility may be ſhewn in the plainneſs
" of their domeſtic garb; their dignity, in the
" pomp of holy veſtments. When they are
" ſummoned in their turn to officiate before the
" altar; they ought not, during the appointed
" number of days, to depart from the precincts
" of the temple; nor ſhould a ſingle day be
" ſuffered to elapſe, without the prayers and the
" ſacrifice, which they are obliged to offer for
" the proſperity of the ſtate, and of individuals.
" The exerciſe of their ſacred functions requires
" an immaculate purity, both of mind and body;
" and even when they are diſmiſſed from the
" temple to the occupations of common life, it
" is incumbent on them to excel in decency and
" virtue the reſt of their fellow-citizens. The
" prieſt of the gods ſhould never be ſeen in
" theatres or taverns. His converſation ſhould
" be chaſte, his diet temperate, his friends of
" honourable reputation; and, if he ſometimes
" viſits the Forum or the Palace, he ſhould
" appear only as the advocate of thoſe who
" have vainly ſolicited either juſtice or mercy.
" His ſtudies ſhould be ſuited to the ſanctity of
" his profeſſion. Licentious tales, or comedies,
" or ſatires, muſt be baniſhed from his library;
" which ought ſolely to conſiſt of hiſtorical
" and philoſophical writings, of hiſtory which

" is founded in truth, and of philoſophy which CHAP.
" is connected with religion. The impious opini- XXIII.
" ons of the Epicureans and Sceptics deſerve his
" abhorrence and contempt [32]; but he ſhould
" diligently ſtudy the ſyſtems of Pythagoras,
" of Plato, and of the Stoics, which unanim-
" ouſly teach that there *are* gods; that the
" world is governed by their providence; that
" their goodneſs is the ſource of every temporal
" bleſſing; and that they have prepared for the
" human ſoul a future ſtate of reward or puniſh-
" ment." The Imperial pontiff inculcates, in the moſt perſuaſive language, the duties of benevolence and hoſpitality; exhorts his inferior clergy to recommend the univerſal practice of thoſe virtues; promiſes to aſſiſt their indigence from the public treaſury; and declares his reſolution of eſtabliſhing hoſpitals in every city, where the poor ſhould be received without any invidious diſtinction of country or of religion. Julian beheld with envy the wiſe and humane regulations of the church; and he very frankly confeſſes his intention to deprive the Chriſtians of the applauſe, as well as advantage, which they had acquired by the excluſive practice of charity and beneficence [33]. The ſame ſpirit of imitation might diſpoſe the emperor to adopt ſeveral eccleſiaſtical inſtitutions, the uſe and importance of which were approved by the ſucceſs of his enemies. But if theſe imaginary plans of reformation had been realized, the forced and imperfect copy would have been leſs beneficial to Paganiſm, than

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honourable to Chriſtianity [40]. The Gentiles, who peaceably followed the cuſtoms of their anceſtors, were rather ſurpriſed than pleaſed with the introduction of foreign manners; and, in the ſhort period of his reign, Julian had frequent occaſion to complain of the want of fervour of his own party [41].

The philoſophers.

The enthuſiaſm of Julian prompted him to embrace the friends of Jupiter as his perſonal friends and brethren; and though he partially overlooked the merit of Chriſtian conſtancy, he admired and rewarded the noble perſeverance of thoſe Gentiles who had preferred the favour of the gods to that of the emperor [42]. If they cultivated the literature as well as the religion, of the Greeks, they acquired an additional claim to the friendſhip of Julian, who ranked the Muſes in the number of his tutelar deities. In the religion which he had adopted, piety and learning were almoſt ſynonymous [43]; and a crowd of poets, of rhetoricians, and of philoſophers, haſtened to the Imperial court, to occupy the vacant places of the biſhops, who had ſeduced the credulity of Conſtantius. His ſucceſſor eſteemed the ties of common initiation as far more ſacred than thoſe of conſanguinity: he choſe his favourites among the ſages, who were deeply ſkilled in the occult ſciences of magic and divination; and every impoſtor, who pretended to reveal the ſecrets of futurity, was aſſured of enjoying the preſent hour in honour and affluence [44]. Among the philoſophers, Maximus obtained the moſt

eminent rank in the friendſhip of his royal diſciple, who communicated, with unreſerved confidence, his actions, his ſentiments, and his religious deſigns, during the anxious ſuſpenſe of the civil war [15]. As ſoon as Julian had taken poſſeſſion of the palace of Conſtantinople, he diſpatched an honourable and preſſing invitation to Maximus; who then reſided at Sardes in Lydia, with Chryſanthius, the aſſociate of his art and ſtudies. The prudent and ſuperſtitious Chryſanthius refuſed to undertake a journey which ſhewed itſelf, according to the rules of divination, with the moſt threatening and malignant aſpect: but his companion, whoſe fanaticiſm was of a bolder caſt, perſiſted in his interrogations, till he had extorted from the gods a ſeeming conſent to his own wiſhes, and thoſe of the emperor. The journey of Maximus through the cities of Aſia, diſplayed the triumph of philoſophic vanity; and the magiſtrates vied with each other in the honourable reception which they prepared for the friend of their ſovereign. Julian was pronouncing an oration before the ſenate, when he was informed of the arrival of Maximus. The emperor immediately interrupted his diſcourſe, advanced to meet him, and, after a tender embrace, conducted him by the hand into the midſt of the aſſembly: where he publicly acknowledged the benefits which he had derived from the inſtructions of the philoſopher. Maximus [16], who ſoon acquired the confidence, and influenced the councils, of Julian, was inſenſibly corrupted by

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the temptations of a court. His dreſs became more ſplendid, his demeanour more lofty, and he was expoſed, under a ſucceeding reign, to a diſgraceful enquiry into the means by which the diſciple of Plato had accumulated, in the ſhort duration of his favour, a very ſcandalous proportion of wealth. Of the other philoſophers and ſophiſts, who were invited to the Imperial reſidence by the choice of Julian, or by the ſucceſs of Maximus, few were able to preſerve their innocence, or their reputation [47]. The liberal gifts of money, lands, and houſes, were inſufficient to ſatiate their rapacious avarice; and the indignation of the people was juſtly excited by the remembrance of their abject poverty and diſintereſted profeſſions. The penetration of Julian could not always be deceived: but he was unwilling to deſpiſe the characters of thoſe men whoſe talents deſerved his eſteem; he deſired to eſcape the double reproach of imprudence and inconſtancy; and he was apprehenſive of degrading, in the eyes of the profane, the honour of letters and of religion [48].

Converſions.

The favour of Julian was almoſt equally divided between the Pagans, who had firmly adhered to the worſhip of their anceſtors, and the Chriſtians, who prudently embraced the religion of their ſovereign. The acquiſition of new proſelytes [49] gratified the ruling paſſions of his ſoul, ſuperſtition and vanity; and he was heard to declare, with the enthuſiaſm of a miſſionary, that if he could render each individual richer

than Midas, and every city greater than Babylon, he ſhould not eſteem himſelf the benefactor of mankind, unleſs, at the ſame time, he could reclaim his ſubjects from their impious revolt againſt the immortal gods [50]. A prince, who had ſtudied human nature, and who poſſeſſed the treaſures of the Roman empire, could adapt his arguments, his promiſes, and his rewards, to every order of Chriſtians [51]; and the merit of a ſeaſonable converſion was allowed to ſupply the defects of a candidate, or even to expiate the guilt of a criminal. As the army is the moſt forcible engine of abſolute power, Julian applied himſelf, with peculiar diligence, to corrupt the religion of his troops, without whoſe hearty concurrence every meaſure muſt be dangerous and unſucceſsful; and the natural temper of ſoldiers made this conqueſt as eaſy at it was important. The legions of Gaul devoted themſelves to the faith, as well as to the fortunes, of their victorious leader; and even before the death of Conſtantius, he had the ſatisfaction of announcing to his friends, that they aſſiſted with fervent devotion, and voracious appetite, at the ſacrifices, which were repeatedly offered in his camp, of whole hecatombs of fat oxen [52]. The armies of the Eaſt, which had been trained under the ſtandard of the croſs, and of Conſtantius, required a more artful and expenſive mode of perſuaſion. On the days of ſolemn and public feſtivals, the emperor received the homage, and rewarded the merit, of the troops. His throne

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of ſtate was encircled with the military enſigns of Rome and the republic; the holy name of Chriſt was erazed from the *Labarum*; and the ſymbols of war, of majeſty, and of pagan ſuperſtition, were ſo dexterouſly blended, that the faithful ſubject incurred the guilt of idolatry, when he reſpectfully ſaluted the perſon or image of his ſovereign. The ſoldiers paſſed ſucceſſively in review; and each of them, before he received from the hand of Julian a liberal donative, proportioned to his rank and ſervices, was required to caſt a few grains of incenſe into the flame which burnt upon the altar. Some Chriſtian confeſſors might reſiſt, and others might repent; but the far greater number, allured by the proſpect of gold, and awed by the preſence of the emperor, contracted the criminal engagement; and their future perſeverance in the worſhip of the gods was enforced by every conſideration of duty and of intereſt. By the frequent repetition of theſe arts, and at the expence of ſums which would have purchaſed the ſervice of half the nations of Scythia, Julian gradually acquired for his troops the imaginary protection of the gods, and for himſelf the firm and effectual ſupport of the Roman legions [11]. It is indeed more than probable, that the reſtoration and encouragement of Paganiſm revealed a multitude of pretended Chriſtians, who, from motives of temporal advantage, had acquieſced in the religion of the former reign; and who afterwards returned, with

the ſame flexibility of conſcience, to the faith which was profeſſed by the ſucceſſors of Julian. CHAP. XXIII.

The Jews.

While the devout monarch inceſſantly laboured to reſtore and propagate the religion of his anceſtors, he embraced the extraordinary deſign of rebuilding the temple of Jeruſalem. In a public epiſtle [54] to the nation or community of the Jews, diſperſed through the provinces, he pities their misfortunes, condemns their oppreſſors, praiſes their conſtancy, declares himſelf their gracious protector and expreſſes a pious hope, that after his return from the Perſian war, he may be permitted to pay his grateful vows to the Almighty in his holy city of Jeruſalem. The blind ſuperſtition, and abject ſlavery, of thoſe unfortunate exiles, muſt excite the contempt of a philoſophic emperor; but they deſerved the friendſhip of Julian, by their implacable hatred of the Chriſtian name. The barren ſynagogue abhorred and envied the fecundity of the rebellious church: the power of the Jews was not equal to their malice; but their graveſt rabbis approved the private murder of an apoſtate [55]; and their ſeditious clamours had often awakened the indolence of the pagan magiſtrates. Under the reign of Conſtantine, the Jews became the ſubjects of their revolted children, nor was it long before they experienced the bitterneſs of domeſtic tyranny. The civil immunities which had been granted, or confirmed, by Severus, were gradually repealed by the Chriſtian princes; and a raſh tumult, excited by the Jews of

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Paleſtine [56], ſeemed to juſtify the lucrative modes of oppreſſion, which were invented by the biſhops and eunuchs of the court of Conſtantius. The Jewiſh patriarch, who was ſtill permitted to exerciſe a precarious juriſdiction, held his reſidence at Tiberias [57]; and the neighbouring cities of Paleſtine were filled with the remains of a people, who fondly adhered to the promiſed land. But the edict of Hadrian was renewed and enforced; and they viewed from afar the walls of the holy city, which were profaned in their eyes by the triumph of the croſs, and the devotion of the Chriſtians [58].

Jeruſalem.

In the midſt of a rocky and barren country, the walls of Jeruſalem [59] incloſed the two mountains of Sion and Acra, within an oval figure of about three Engliſh miles [60]. Towards the ſouth, the upper town, and the fortreſs of David, were erected on the lofty aſcent of Mount Sion: on the north ſide, the buildings of the lower town covered the ſpacious ſummit of Mount Acra; and a part of the hill, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Moriah, and levelled by human induſtry, was crowned with the ſtately temple of the Jewiſh nation. After the final deſtruction of the temple, by the arms of Titus and Hadrian, a ploughſhare was drawn over the conſecrated ground, as a ſign of perpetual interdiction. Sion was deſerted: and the vacant ſpace of the lower city was filled with the public and private edifices of the Ælian colony, which ſpread themſelves over the adjacent hill of Calvary. The holy places

places were polluted with monuments of idolatry; and, either from deſign or accident, a chapel was dedicated to Venus, on the ſpot which had been ſanctified by the death and reſurrection of Chriſt[40]. Almoſt three hundred years after thoſe ſtupendous events, the profane chapel of Venus was demoliſhed by the order of Conſtantine; and the removal of the earth and ſtones revealed the holy ſepulchre to the eyes of mankind. A magnificent church was erected on that myſtic ground, by the firſt Chriſtian emperor; and the effects of his pious munificence were extended to every ſpot, which had been conſecrated by the footſteps of patriarchs, of prophets, and of the Son of God[41].

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Pilgrimages.

The paſſionate deſire of contemplating the original monuments of their redemption, attracted to Jeruſalem a ſucceſſive crowd of pilgrims, from the ſhores of the Atlantic ocean, and the moſt diſtant countries of the Eaſt[42]; and their piety was authoriſed by the example of the empreſs Helena; who appears to have united the credulity of age with the warm feelings of a recent converſion. Sages and heroes, who have viſited the memorable ſcenes of ancient wiſdom or glory, have confeſſed the inſpiration of the genius of the place[43]; and the Chriſtian, who knelt before the holy ſepulchre, aſcribed his lively faith, and his fervent devotion, to the more immediate influence of the Divine ſpirit. The zeal, perhaps the avarice, of the clergy of Jeruſalem, cheriſhed and multiplied theſe beneficial viſits. They fixed, by unqueſtionable tradition, the ſcene of each memorable event.

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They exhibited the inſtruments which had been uſed in the paſſion of Chriſt; the nails and the lance that had pierced his hands, his feet, and his ſide; the crown of thorns that was planted on his head; the pillar at which he was ſcourged: and, above all, they ſhewed the croſs on which he ſuffered, and which was dug out of the earth in the reign of thoſe princes, who inſerted the ſymbol of Chriſtianity in the banners of the Roman legions[66]. Such miracles, as ſeemed neceſſary to account for its extraordinary preſervation, and ſeaſonable diſcovery, were gradually propagated without oppoſition. The cuſtody of the *true croſs*, which on Eaſter Sunday was ſolemnly expoſed to the people, was entruſted to the biſhop of Jeruſalem; and he alone might gratify the curious devotion of the pilgrims, by the gift of ſmall pieces, which they enchaſed in gold or gems, and carried away in triumph to their reſpective countries. But as this gainful branch of commerce muſt ſoon have been annihilated, it was found convenient to ſuppoſe, that the marvellous wood poſſeſſed a ſecret power of vegetation; and that its ſubſtance, though continually diminiſhed, ſtill remained entire and unimpaired[67]. It might perhaps have been expected, that the influence of the place, and the belief of a perpetual miracle, ſhould have produced ſome ſalutary effects on the morals, as well as on the faith, of the people. Yet the moſt reſpectable of the eccleſiaſtical writers have been obliged to confeſs, not only that the ſtreets

of Jeruſalem were filled with the inceſſant tumult of buſineſs and pleaſure[66], but that every ſpecies of vice, adultery, theft, idolatry, poiſoning, murder, was familiar to the inhabitants of the holy city[67]. The wealth and pre-eminence of the church of Jeruſalem excited the ambition of Arian, as well as orthodox, candidates; and the virtues of Cyril, who, ſince his death, has been honoured with the title of Saint, were diſplayed in the exerciſe, rather than in the acquiſition, of his epiſcopal dignity[68].

Julian attempts to rebuild the temple.

The vain and ambitious mind of Julian might aſpire to reſtore the ancient glory of the temple of Jeruſalem[69]. As the Chriſtians were firmly perſuaded that a ſentence of everlaſting deſtruction had been pronounced againſt the whole fabric of the Moſaic law, the Imperial ſophiſt would have converted the ſucceſs of his undertaking into a ſpecious argument againſt the faith of prophecy, and the truth of revelation[70]. He was diſpleaſed with the ſpiritual worſhip of the ſynagogue; but he approved the inſtitutions of Moſes, who had not diſdained to adopt many of the rites and ceremonies of Egypt[71]. The local and national deity of the Jews was ſincerely adored by a polytheiſt, who deſired only to multiply the number of the gods[72]; and ſuch was the appetite of Julian for bloody ſacrifice, that his emulation might be excited by the piety of Solomon, who had offered, at the feaſt of the dedication, twenty-two thouſand oxen, and one hundred and twenty thouſand ſheep[73]. Theſe

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conſiderations might influence his deſign; but the proſpect of an immediate and important advantage, would not ſuffer the impatient monarch to expect the remote and uncertain event of the Perſian war. He reſolved to erect, without delay, on the commanding eminence of Moriah, a ſtately temple, which might eclipſe the ſplendor of the church of the Reſurrection on the adjacent hill of Calvary; to eſtabliſh an order of prieſts, whoſe intereſted zeal would detect the arts, and reſiſt the ambition, of their Chriſtian rivals; and to invite a numerous colony of Jews, whoſe ſtern fanaticiſm would be always prepared to ſecond, and even to anticipate, the hoſtile meaſures of the pagan government. Among the friends of the emperor (if the names of emperor and of friend are not incompatible) the firſt place was aſſigned, by Julian himſelf, to the virtuous and learned Alypius[74]. The humanity of Alypius was tempered by ſevere juſtice, and manly fortitude; and while he exerciſed his abilities in the civil adminiſtration of Britain, he imitated, in his poetical compoſitions, the harmony and ſoftneſs of the odes of Sappho. This miniſter, to whom Julian communicated, without reſerve, his moſt careleſs levities, and his moſt ſerious counſels, received an extraordinary commiſſion to reſtore, in its priſtine beauty, the temple of Jeruſalem; and the diligence of Alypius required and obtained the ſtrenuous ſupport of the governor of Paleſtine. At the call of their great deliverer, the Jews, from all the provinces

of the empire, aſſembled on the holy mountain of their fathers; and their inſolent triumph alarmed and exaſperated the Chriſtian inhabitants of Jeruſalem. The deſire of rebuilding the temple has, in every age, been the ruling paſſion of the children of Iſrael. In this propitious moment the men forgot their avarice, and the women their delicacy; ſpades and pickaxes of ſilver were provided by the vanity of the rich, and the rubbiſh was tranſported in mantles of ſilk and purple. Every purſe was opened in liberal contributions, every hand claimed a ſhare in the pious labour; and the commands of a great monarch were executed by the enthuſiaſm of a whole people [75].

The enterprize is defeated;

Yet, on this occaſion, the joint efforts of power and enthuſiaſm were unſucceſsful; and the ground of the Jewiſh temple, which is now covered by a Mahometan moſque [76], ſtill continued to exhibit the ſame edifying ſpectacle of ruin and deſolation. Perhaps the abſence and death of the emperor, and the new maxims of a Chriſtian reign, might explain the interruption of an arduous work, which was attempted only in the laſt ſix months of the life of Julian [77]. But the Chriſtians entertained a natural and pious expectation, that, in this memorable conteſt, the honour of religion would be vindicated by ſome ſignal miracle. An earthquake, a whirlwind, and a fiery eruption, which overturned and ſcattered the new foundations of the temple, are atteſted, with ſome variations, by contemporary and reſpectable evidence [78]. This public

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event is described by Ambrose[79], bishop of Milan, in an epistle to the emperor Theodosius, which must provoke the severe animadversion of the Jews; by the eloquent Chrysostom[80], who might appeal to the memory of the elder part of his congregation at Antioch; and by Gregory Nazianzen[81], who published his account of the miracle before the expiration of the same year. The last of these writers has boldly declared, that this præternatural event was not disputed by the infidels; and his assertion, strange as it may seem, is confirmed by the unexceptionable testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus[82]. The philosophic soldier, who loved the virtues, without adopting the prejudices, of his master, has recorded, in his judicious and candid history of his own times, the extraordinary obstacles which interrupted the restoration of the temple of Jerusalem "Whilst Alypius, assisted by the go-"vernor of the province, urged, with vigour "and diligence, the execution of the work, "horrible balls of fire breaking out near the "foundations with frequent and reiterated at-"tacks, rendered the place, from time to time, "inaccessible to the scorched and blasted work-"men; and the victorious element continuing "in this manner obstinately and resolutely bent, "as it were, to drive them to a distance, the "undertaking was abandoned." Such authority should satisfy a believing, and must astonish an incredulous, mind. Yet a philosopher may still require the original evidence of impartial and

perhaps by a præternatural event.

intelligent ſpectators. At this important criſis, any ſingular accident of nature would aſſume the appearance, and produce the effects, of a real prodigy. This glorious deliverance would be ſpeedily improved and magnified by the pious art of the clergy of Jeruſalem, and the active credulity of the Chriſtian world; and, at the diſtance of twenty years, a Roman hiſtorian, careleſs of theological diſputes, might adorn his work with the ſpecious and ſplendid miracle [83].

Partiality of Julian.

The reſtoration of the Jewiſh temple was ſecretly connected with the ruin of the Chriſtian church. Julian ſtill continued to maintain the freedom of religious worſhip, without diſtinguiſhing, whether this univerſal toleration proceeded from his juſtice, or his clemency. He affected to pity the unhappy Chriſtians, who were miſtaken in the moſt important object of their lives; but his pity was degraded by contempt, his contempt was embittered by hatred; and the ſentiments of Julian were expreſſed in a ſtyle of ſarcaſtic wit, which inflicts a deep and deadly wound, whenever it iſſues from the mouth of a ſovereign. As he was ſenſible that the Chriſtians gloried in the name of their Redeemer, he countenanced, and perhaps enjoined, the uſe of the leſs honourable appellation of GALILÆANS [84]. He declared, that, by the folly of the Galilæans, whom he deſcribes as a ſect of fanatics, contemptible to men, and odious to the gods, the empire had been reduced to the brink of deſtruction; and he inſinuates in a public edict, that a frantic

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patient might ſometimes be cured by ſalutary violence[11]. An ungenerous diſtinction was admitted into the mind and counſels of Julian, that, according to the difference of their religious ſentiments, one part of his ſubjects deſerved his favour and friendſhip, while the other was entitled only to the common benefits that his juſtice could not refuſe to an obedient people[12]. According to a principle, pregnant with miſchief and oppreſſion, the emperor transferred, to the pontiffs of his own religion, the management of the liberal allowances from the public revenue, which had been granted to the church by the piety of Conſtantine and his ſons. The proud ſyſtem of clerical honours and immunities, which had been conſtructed with ſo much art and labour, was levelled to the ground; the hopes of teſtamentary donations were intercepted by the rigour of the laws; and the prieſts of the Chriſtian ſect were confounded with the laſt and moſt ignominious claſs of the people. Such of theſe regulations as appeared neceſſary to check the ambition and avarice of the eccleſiaſtics, were ſoon afterwards imitated by the wiſdom of an orthodox prince. The peculiar diſtinctions which policy has beſtowed, or ſuperſtition has laviſhed, on the ſacerdotal order, *muſt* be confined to thoſe prieſts who profeſs the religion of the ſtate. But the will of the legiſlator was not exempt from prejudice and paſſion; and it was the object of the inſidious policy of Julian, to deprive the Chriſtians of all the temporal honours and

advantages which rendered them reſpectable in the eyes of the world [87].

He prohibits the Chriſtians from teaching ſchools.

A juſt and ſevere cenſure has been inflicted on the law which prohibited the Chriſtians from teaching the arts of grammar and rhetoric [88]. The motives alleged by the emperor to juſtify this partial and oppreſſive meaſure, might command, during his life-time, the ſilence of ſlaves and the applauſe of flatterers. Julian abuſes the ambiguous meaning of a word which might be indifferently applied to the language and the religion of the GREEKS: he contemptuouſly obſerves, that the men who exalt the merit of implicit faith are unfit to claim or to enjoy the advantages of ſcience; and he vainly contends, that if they refuſe to adore the gods of Homer and Demoſthenes, they ought to content themſelves with expounding Luke and Matthew in the churches of the Galilæans [89]. In all the cities of the Roman world, the education of the youth was entruſted to maſters of grammar and rhetoric; who were elected by the magiſtrates, maintained at the public expence, and diſtinguiſhed by many lucrative and honourable privileges. The edict of Julian appears to have included the phyſicians, and profeſſors of all the liberal arts; and the emperor, who reſerved to himſelf the approbation of the candidates, was authoriſed by the laws to corrupt, or to puniſh, the religious conſtancy of the moſt learned of the Chriſtians [90]. As ſoon as the reſignation of the more obſtinate [91] teachers had eſtabliſhed the

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unrivalled dominion of the Pagan ſophiſts, Julian invited the riſing generation to reſort with freedom to the public ſchools, in a juſt confidence, that their tender minds would receive the impreſſions of literature and idolatry. If the greateſt part of the Chriſtian youth ſhould be deterred by their own ſcruples, or by thoſe of their parents, from accepting this dangerous mode of inſtruction, they muſt, at the ſame time, relinquiſh the benefits of a liberal education. Julian had reaſon to expect that, in the ſpace of a few years, the church would relapſe into its primæval ſimplicity, and that the theologians, who poſſeſſed an adequate ſhare of the learning and eloquence of the age, would be ſucceeded by a generation of blind and ignorant fanatics, incapable of defending the truth of their own principles, or of expoſing the various follies of Polytheiſm [22].

Diſgrace and oppreſſion of the Chriſtians.

It was undoubtedly the wiſh and the deſign of Julian to deprive the Chriſtians of the advantages of wealth, of knowledge, and of power; but the injuſtice of excluding them from all offices of truſt and profit, ſeems to have been the reſult of his general policy, rather than the immediate conſequence of any poſitive law [23]. Superior merit might deſerve, and obtain, ſome extraordinary exceptions; but the greater part of the Chriſtian officers were gradually removed from their employments in the ſtate, the army, and the provinces. The hopes of future candidates were extinguiſhed by the declared partiality of a prince, who maliciouſly reminded them, that it

was unlawful for a Chriſtian to uſe the ſword, either, of juſtice, or, of war: and who ſtudiouſly guarded the camp and the tribunals with the enſigns of idolatry. The powers of government were entruſted to the Pagans, who profeſſed an ardent zeal for the religion of their anceſtors; and as the choice of the emperor was often directed by the rules of divination, the favourites whom he preferred as the moſt agreeable to the gods, did not always obtain the approbation of mankind [24]. Under the adminiſtration of their enemies, the Chriſtians had much to ſuffer, and more to apprehend. The temper of Julian was averſe to cruelty; and the care of his reputation which was expoſed to the eyes of the univerſe, reſtrained the philoſophic monarch from violating the laws of juſtice and toleration, which he himſelf had ſo recently eſtabliſhed. But the provincial miniſters of his authority were placed in a leſs conſpicuous ſtation. In the exerciſe of arbitrary power, they conſulted the wiſhes, rather than the commands, of their ſovereign; and ventured to exerciſe a ſecret and vexatious tyranny againſt the ſectaries, on whom they were not permitted to confer the honours of martyrdom. The emperor, who diſſembled, as long as poſſible, his knowledge of the injuſtice that was exerciſed in his name, expreſſed his real ſenſe of the conduct of his officers, by gentle reproofs and ſubſtantial rewards [25].

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The moſt effectual inſtrument of oppreſſion, with which they were armed, was the law that

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They are condemned to reſtore the Pagan temples.

obliged the Chriſtians to make full and ample ſatisfaction for the temples which they had deſtroyed under the preceding reign. The zeal of the triumphant church had not always expected the ſanction of the public authority; and the biſhops, who were ſecure of impunity, had often marched, at the head of their congregations, to attack and demoliſh the fortreſſes of the prince of darkneſs. The conſecrated lands, which had encreaſed the patrimony of the ſovereign or of the clergy, were clearly defined, and eaſily reſtored. But on theſe lands, and on the ruins of Pagan ſuperſtition, the Chriſtians had frequently erected their own religious edifices: and as it was neceſſary to remove the church before the temple could be rebuilt, the juſtice and piety of the emperor were applauded by one party, while the other deplored and execrated his ſacrilegious violence [a]. After the ground was cleared, the reſtitution of thoſe ſtately ſtructures, which had been levelled with the duſt; and of the precious ornaments, which had been converted to Chriſtian uſes, ſwelled into a very large account of damages and debt. The authors of the injury had neither the ability nor the inclination to diſcharge this accumulated demand: and the impartial wiſdom of a legiſlator would have been diſplayed in balancing the adverſe claims and complaints, by an equitable and temperate arbitration. But the whole empire, and particularly the Eaſt, was thrown into confuſion by the raſh edicts of Julian; and the Pagan magiſtrates,

inflamed by zeal and revenge, abuſed the rigorous privilege of the Roman law; which ſubſtitutes, in the place of his inadequate property, the perſon of the inſolvent debtor. Under the preceding reign, Mark, biſhop of Arethuſa[97], had laboured in the converſion of his people with arms more effectual than thoſe of perſuaſion[98]. The magiſtrates required the full value of a temple which had been deſtroyed by his intolerant zeal: but as they were ſatisfied of his poverty, they deſired only to bend his inflexible ſpirit to the promiſe of the ſlighteſt compenſation. They apprehended the aged prelate, they inhumanly ſcourged him, they tore his beard; and his naked body, anointed with honey, was ſuſpended, in a net, between heaven and earth, and expoſed to the ſtings of inſects and the rays of a Syrian Sun[99]. From this lofty ſtation, Mark ſtill perſiſted to glory in his crime, and to inſult the impotent rage of his perſecutors. He was at length reſcued from their hands, and diſmiſſed to enjoy the honour of his divine triumph. The Arians celebrated the virtue of their pious confeſſor; the catholics ambitiouſly claimed his alliance[100]; and the Pagans, who might be ſuſceptible of ſhame or remorſe, were deterred from the repetition of ſuch unavailing cruelty[101]. Julian ſpared his life: but if the biſhop of Arethuſa had ſaved the infancy of Julian[102], poſterity will condemn the ingratitude, inſtead of praiſing the clemency, of the emperor.

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The temple and sacred grove of Daphne.

At the distance of five miles from Antioch, the Macedonian kings of Syria had consecrated to Apollo one of the most elegant places of devotion in the Pagan world [103]. A magnificent temple rose in honour of the god of light; and his Colossal figure [104] almost filled the capacious sanctuary, which was enriched with gold and gems, and adorned by the skill of the Grecian artists. The deity was represented in a bending attitude, with a golden cup in his hand, pouring out a libation on the earth; as if he supplicated the venerable mother to give to his arms the cold and beauteous DAPHNE: for the spot was ennobled by fiction; and the fancy of the Syrian poets had transported the amorous tale from the banks of the Peneus to those of the Orontes. The ancient rites of Greece were imitated by the royal colony of Antioch. A stream of prophecy, which rivalled the truth and reputation of the Delphic oracle, flowed from the *Castalian* fountain of Daphne [105]. In the adjacent fields a stadium was built by a special privilege [106], which had been purchased from Elis; the Olympic games were celebrated at the expence of the city; and a revenue of thirty thousand pounds sterling was annually applied to the public pleasures [107]. The perpetual resort of pilgrims and spectators insensibly formed, in the neighbourhood of the temple, the stately and populous village of Daphne, which emulated the splendor, without acquiring the title, of a provincial city. The temple and the village were deeply bosomed in a thick grove of laurels and

cypreſſes, which reached as far as a circumference of ten miles, and formed in the moſt ſultry ſummers a cool and impenetrable ſhade. A thouſand ſtreams of the pureſt water, iſſuing from every hill, preſerved the verdure of the earth, and the temperature of the air; the ſenſes were gratified with harmonious ſounds and aromatic odours; and the peaceful grove was conſecrated to health and joy, to luxury and love. The vigorous youth purſued, like Apollo, the object of his deſires; and the bluſhing maid was warned, by the fate of Daphne, to ſhun the folly of unſeaſonable coyneſs. The ſoldier and the philoſopher wiſely avoided the temptation of this ſenſual paradiſe[108]; where pleaſure, aſſuming the character of religion, imperceptibly diſſolved the firmneſs of manly virtue. But the groves of Daphne continued for many ages to enjoy the veneration of natives and ſtrangers; the privileges of the holy ground were enlarged by the munificence of ſucceeding emperors; and every generation added new ornaments to the ſplendor of the temple[109].

Neglect and profanation of Daphne.

When Julian, on the day of the annual feſtival, haſtened to adore the Apollo of Daphne, his devotion was raiſed to the higheſt pitch of eagerneſs and impatience. His lively imagination anticipated the grateful pomp of victims, of libations, and of incenſe; a long proceſſion of youths and virgins, clothed in white robes, the ſymbol of their innocence; and the tumultuous concourſe of an innumerable people. But the

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zeal of Antioch was diverted, ſince the reign of Chriſtianity, into a different channel. Inſtead of hecatombs of fat oxen ſacrificed by the tribes of a wealthy city, to their tutelar deity, the emperor complains that he found only a ſingle gooſe, provided at the expence of a prieſt, the pale and ſolitary inhabitant of this decayed temple[110]. The altar was deſerted, the oracle had been reduced to ſilence, and the holy ground was profaned by the introduction of Chriſtian and funeral rites. After Babylas[111] (a biſhop of Antioch, who died in priſon in the perſecution of Decius) had reſted near a century in his grave, his body, by the order of the Cæſar Gallus, was tranſported into the midſt of the grove of Daphne. A magnificent church was erected over his remains; a portion of the ſacred lands was uſurped for the maintenance of the clergy, and for the burial of the Chriſtians of Antioch, who were ambitious of lying at the feet of their biſhop, and the prieſts of Apollo retired, with their affrighted and indignant votaries. As ſoon as another revolution ſeemed to reſtore the fortune of Paganiſm, the church of St. Babylas was demoliſhed, and new buildings were added to the mouldering edifice which had been raiſed by the piety of Syrian kings. But the firſt and moſt ſerious care of Julian was to deliver his oppreſſed deity from the odious preſence of the dead and living Chriſtians; who had ſo effectually ſuppreſſed the voice of fraud or enthuſiaſm[112].

The

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Removal of the dead bodies, and conflagration of the temple.

The ſcene of infection was purified, according to the forms of ancient rituals; the bodies were decently removed; and the miniſters of the church were permitted to convey the remains of St. Babylas to their former habitation within the walls of Antioch. The modeſt behaviour which might have aſſuaged the jealouſy of an hoſtile government, was neglected on this occaſion by the zeal of the Chriſtians. The lofty car, that tranſported the Relics of Babylas, was followed, and accompanied, and received, by an innumerable multitude; who chanted, with thundering acclamations, the Pſalms of David the moſt expreſſive of their contempt for idols and idolaters. The return of the ſaint was a triumph; and the triumph was an inſult on the religion of the emperor, who exerted his pride to diſſemble his reſentment. During the night which terminated this indiſcreet proceſſion, the temple of Daphne was in flames; the ſtatue of Apollo was conſumed; and the walls of the edifice were left a naked and awful monument of ruin. The Chriſtians of Antioch aſſerted, with religious confidence, that the powerful interceſſion of St. Babylas had pointed the lightnings of heaven againſt the devoted roof: but as Julian was reduced to the alternative, of believing either a crime or a miracle, he choſe, without heſitation, without evidence, but with ſome colour of probability, to impute the fire of Daphne to the revenge of the Galilæans [113]. Their offence, had it been ſufficiently proved, might have juſtified the retaliation, which was

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Julian shuts the cathedral of Antioch.

immediately executed by the order of Julian, of ſhutting the doors, and confiſcating the wealth, of the cathedral of Antioch. To diſcover the criminals who were guilty of the tumult, of the fire, or of ſecreting the riches of the church, ſeveral eccleſiaſtics were tortured [114]; and a preſbyter, of the name of Theodoret, was beheaded by the ſentence of the Count of the Eaſt. But this haſty act was blamed by the emperor; who lamented, with real or affected concern, that the imprudent zeal of his miniſters would tarniſh his reign with the diſgrace of perſecution [115].

The zeal of the miniſters of Julian was inſtantly checked by the frown of their ſovereign; but when the father of his country declares himſelf the leader of a faction, the licence of popular fury cannot eaſily be reſtrained, nor conſiſtently puniſhed. Julian, in a public compoſition, applauds the devotion and loyalty of the holy cities of Syria, whoſe pious inhabitants had deſtroyed, at the firſt ſignal, the ſepulchres of the Galilæans; and faintly complains, that they had revenged the injuries of the gods with leſs moderation than he ſhould have recommended [116]. This imperfect and reluctant confeſſion may appear to confirm the eccleſiaſtical narratives; that in the cities of Gaza, Aſcalon, Cæſarea, Heliopolis, &c. the Pagans abuſed, without prudence or remorſe, the moment of their proſperity; that the unhappy objects of their cruelty were releaſed from torture only by death; that as their mangled bodies were dragged through the ſtreets,

they were pierced (ſuch was the univerſal rage) by the ſpits of cooks, and the diſtaffs of enraged women; and that the entrails of Chriſtian prieſts and virgins, after they had been taſted by thoſe bloody fanatics, were mixed with barley, and contemptuouſly thrown to the unclean animals of the city [117]. Such ſcenes of religious madneſs exhibit the moſt contemptible and odious picture of human nature; but the maſſacre of Alexandria attracts ſtill more attention, from the certainty of the fact, the rank of the victims, and the ſplendor of the capital of Egypt.

George [118], from his parents or his education, ſurnamed the Cappadocian, was born at Epiphania in Cilicia, in a fuller's ſhop. From this obſcure and ſervile origin he raiſed himſelf by the talents of a paraſite: and the patrons, whom he aſſiduouſly flattered, procured for their worthleſs dependent a lucrative commiſſion, or contract, to ſupply the army with bacon. His employment was mean: he rendered it infamous. He accumulated wealth by the baſeſt arts of fraud and corruption; but his malverſations were ſo notorious, that George was compelled to eſcape from the purſuits of juſtice. After this diſgrace, in which he appears to have ſaved his fortune at the expence of his honour, he embraced, with real or affected zeal, the profeſſion of Arianiſm. From the love, or the oſtentation, of learning, he collected a valuable library of hiſtory, rhetoric, philoſophy and theology [119]; and the choice of the prevailing faction promoted George of Cappadocia to the throne of Athanaſius.

George of Cappadocia.

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The entrance of the new archbiſhop was that of a Barbarian conqueror; and each moment of his reign was polluted by cruelty and avarice. The Catholics of Alexandria and Egypt were abandoned to a tyrant, qualified, by nature and education, to exerciſe the office of perſecution; but he oppreſſed with an impartial hand the various inhabitants of his extenſive dioceſe. The primate of Egypt aſſumed the pomp and inſolence of his lofty ſtation; but he ſtill betrayed the vices of his baſe and ſervile extraction. The merchants of Alexandria were impoveriſhed by the unjuſt, and almoſt univerſal, monopoly, which he acquired, of nitre, ſalt, paper, funerals &c.: and the ſpiritual father of a great people condeſcended to practiſe the vile and pernicious arts of an informer. The Alexandrians could never forget, nor forgive, the tax, which he ſuggeſted, on all the houſes of the city; under an obſolete claim, that the royal founder had conveyed to his ſucceſſors, the Ptolemies and the Cæſars, the perpetual property of the ſoil. The Pagans, who had been flattered with the hopes of freedom and toleration, excited his devout avarice; and the rich temples of Alexandria were either pillaged or inſulted by the haughty prelate, who exclaimed, in a loud and threatening tone, "How "long will theſe ſepulchres be permitted to "ſtand?" Under the reign of Conſtantius, he was expelled by the fury, or rather by the juſtice, of the people; and it was not without a violent ſtruggle, that the civil and military powers of

Oppreſſes Alexandria and Egypt.

the ſtate could reſtore his authority, and gratify his revenge. The meſſenger who proclaimed at Alexandria the acceſſion of Julian, announced the downfal of the archbiſhop. George, with two of his obſequious miniſters, count Diodorus, and Dracontius, maſter of the mint, were ignominiouſly dragged in chains to the public priſon. At the end of twenty-four days, the priſon was forced open by the rage of a ſuperſtitious multitude, impatient of the tedious forms of judicial proceedings. The enemies of gods and men expired under their cruel inſults; the lifeleſs bodies of the archbiſhop and his aſſociates were carried in triumph through the ſtreets on the back of a camel; and the inactivity of the Athanaſian party [120] was eſteemed a ſhining example of evangelical patience. The remains of theſe guilty wretches were thrown into the ſea; and the popular leaders of the tumult declared their reſolution to diſappoint the devotion of the Chriſtians, ond to intercept the future honours of theſe *martyrs*, who had been puniſhed, like their predeceſſors, by the enemies of their religion [121]. The fears of the Pagans were juſt, and their precautions ineffectual. The meritorious death of the archbiſhop obliterated the memory of his life. The rival of Athanaſius was dear and ſacred to the Arians, and the ſeeming converſion of thoſe ſectaries introduced his worſhip into the boſom of the Catholic church [122]. The odious ſtranger, diſguiſing every circumſtance of time and place, aſſumed the maſk of a martyr, a ſaint,

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A. D. 361. Nov. 30.

He is maſſacred by the people,

Dec. 24.

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and worshipped as a saint and martyr.

and a Christian hero [123]; and the infamous George of Cappadocia has been transformed [124] into the renowned St. George of England, the patron of arms, of chivalry, and of the garter [125].

About the same time that Julian was informed of the tumult of Alexandria, he received intelligence from Edessa, that the proud and wealthy faction of the Arians had insulted the weakness of the Valentinians; and committed such disorders, as ought not to be suffered with impunity in a well-regulated state. Without expecting the slow forms of justice, the exasperated prince directed his mandate to the magistrates of Edessa [127], by which he confiscated the whole property of the church: the money was distributed among the soldiers; the lands were added to the domain; and this act of oppression was aggravated by the most ungenerous irony. "I shew myself," says Julian, "the true friend of the Galilæans. Their *admirable* "law has promised the kingdom of heaven to the "poor; and they will advance with more dili- "gence in the paths of virtue and salvation, "when they are relieved by my assistance from "the load of temporal possessions. Take care," pursued the monarch, in a more serious tone, "take care how you provoke my patience and "humanity. If these disorders continue, I will "revenge on the magistrates the crimes of the "people; and you will have reason to dread, not "only confiscation and exile, but fire and the "sword." The tumults of Alexandria were doubtless of a more bloody and dangerous nature: but

a Chriſtian biſhop had fallen by the hands of the Pagans; and the public epiſtle of Julian affords a very lively proof of the partial ſpirit of his adminiſtration. His reproaches to the citizens of Alexandria are mingled with expreſſions of eſteem and tenderneſs; and he laments, that, on this occaſion, they ſhould have departed from the gentle and generous manners which atteſted their Grecian extraction. He gravely cenſures the offence which they had committed againſt the laws of juſtice and humanity; but he recapitulates, with viſible complacency, the intolerable provocations which they had ſo long endured from the impious tyranny of George of Cappadocia. Julian admits the principle, that a wiſe and vigorous government ſhould chaſtiſe the inſolence of the people: yet, in conſideration of their founder Alexander, and of Serapis their tutelar deity, he grants a free and gracious pardon to the guilty city, for which he again feels the affection of a brother [128].

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After the tumult of Alexandria had ſubſided, Athanaſius, amidſt the public acclamations, ſeated himſelf on the throne from whence his unworthy competitor had been precipitated: and as the zeal of the archbiſhop was tempered with diſcretion, the exerciſe of his authority tended not to inflame, but to reconcile, the minds of the people. His paſtoral labours were not confined to the narrow limits of Egypt. The ſtate of the Chriſtian world was preſent to his active and capacious mind; and the age, the merit, the reputation of Athanaſius, enabled him to aſſume,

Reſtoration of Athanaſius, A. D 362, Feb. 22.

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in a moment of danger, the office of Eccleſiaſtical Dictator [129]. Three years were not yet elapſed ſince the majority of the biſhops of the Weſt had ignorantly, or reluctantly, ſubſcribed, the confeſſion of Rimini. They repented, they believed, but they dreaded the unſeaſonable rigour of their orthodox brethren; and if their pride was ſtronger than their faith, they might throw themſelves into the arms of the Arians, to eſcape the indignity of a public penance, which muſt degrade them to the condition of obſcure laymen. At the ſame time, the domeſtic differences concerning the union and diſtinction of the divine perſons, were agitated with ſome heat among the Catholic doctors; and the progreſs of this metaphyſical controverſy ſeemed to threaten a public and laſting diviſion of the Greek and Latin churches. By the wiſdom of a ſelect ſynod, to which the name and preſence of Athanaſius gave the authority of a general council, the biſhops, who had unwarily deviated into error, were admitted to the communion of the church, on the eaſy condition of ſubſcribing the Nicene Creed; without any formal acknowledgment of their paſt fault, or any minute definition of their ſcholaſtic opinions. The advice of the primate of Egypt had already prepared the clergy of Gaul and Spain, of Italy and Greece, for the reception of this ſalutary meaſure; and, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of ſome ardent ſpirits [130], the fear of the common enemy promoted the peace and harmony of the Chriſtians [131].

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He is perſecuted and expelled by Julian, A. D. 362. Oct. 23.

The ſkill and diligence of the primate of Egypt had improved the ſeaſon of tranquillity, before it was interrupted by the hoſtile edicts of the emperor [132]. Julian, who deſpiſed the Chriſtians, honoured Athanaſius with his ſincere and peculiar hatred. For his ſake alone, he introduced an arbitrary diſtinction, repugnant, at leaſt to the ſpirit, of his former declarations. He maintained, that the Galilæans, whom he had recalled from exile, were not reſtored, by that general indulgence, to the poſſeſſion of their reſpective churches: and he expreſſed his aſtoniſhment, that a criminal, who had been repeatedly condemned by the judgment of the emperors, ſhould dare to inſult the majeſty of the laws, and inſolently uſurp the archiepiſcopal throne of Alexandria, without expecting the orders of his ſovereign. As a puniſhment for the imaginary offence, he again baniſhed Athanaſius from the city; and he was pleaſed to ſuppoſe, that this act of juſtice would be highly agreeable to his pious ſubjects. The preſſing ſolicitations of the people ſoon convinced him, that the majority of the Aldxandrians were Chriſtians; and that the greateſt part of the Chriſtians were firmly attached to the cauſe of their oppreſſed primate. But the knowledge of their ſentiments, inſtead of perſuading him to recal his decree, provoked him to extend to all Egypt the term of the exile of Athanaſius. The zeal of the multitude rendered Julian ſtill more inexorable: he was alarmed by the danger of leaving at the head of

CHAP. XXIII. a tumultuous city, a daring and popular leader; and the language of his reſentment diſcovers the opinion which he entertained of the courage and abilities of Athanaſius. The execution of the ſentence was ſtill delayed, by the caution or negligence of Ecdicius, præfect of Egypt, who was at length awakened from his lethargy by a ſevere reprimand. "Though you neglect," ſays Julian, "to write to me on any other ſubject, "at leaſt it is your duty to inform me of your "conduct towards Athanaſius, the enemy of the "gods. My intentions have been long ſince "communicated to you. I ſwear by the great "Serapis, that unleſs, on the calends of De-"cember, Athanaſius has departed from Alex-"andria, nay from Egypt, the officers of your "government ſhall pay a fine of one hundred "pounds of gold. You know my temper: I "am ſlow to condemn, but I am ſtill ſlower to "forgive." This epiſtle was enforced by a ſhort poſtſcript, written with the emperor's own hand. "The contempt that is ſhewn for all the "gods fills me with grief and indignation. "There is nothing that I ſhould ſee, nothing "that I ſhould hear, with more pleaſure, than "the expulſion of Athanaſius from all Egypt. "The abominable wretch! under my reign, "the baptiſm of ſeveral Grecian ladies of the "higheſt rank has been the effect of his per-"ſecutions [111]." The death of Athanaſius was not *expreſsly* commanded; but the præfect of Egypt underſtood, that it was ſafer for him to

exceed, than to neglect, the orders of an irritated master. The archbishop prudently retired to the monasteries of the Desert: eluded, with his usual dexterity, the snares of the enemy; and lived to triumph over the ashes of a prince, who, in words of formidable import, had declared his wish that the whole venom of the Galilæan school were contained in the single person of Athanasius [114]. CHAP. XXIII.

Zeal and imprudence of the Christians.

I have endeavoured faithfully to represent the artful system by which Julian proposed to obtain the effects, without incurring the guilt, or reproach, of persecution. But if the deadly spirit of fanaticism perverted the heart and understanding of a virtuous prince, it must, at the same time, be confessed, that the *real* sufferings of the Christians were inflamed and magnified by human passions and religious enthusiasm. The meekness and resignation which had distinguished the primitive disciples of the gospel, was the object of the applause, rather than of the imitation, of their successors. The Christians, who had now possessed above forty years the civil and ecclesiastical government of the empire, had contracted the insolent vices of prosperity [115], and the habit of believing, that the saints alone were entitled to reign over the earth. As soon as the enmity of Julian deprived the clergy of the privileges which had been conferred by the favour of Constantine, they complained of the most cruel oppression; and the free toleration of idolaters and heretics was a subject of grief and scandal to the orthodox party [116]. The acts of

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violence, which were no longer countenanced by the magiſtrates, were ſtill committed by the zeal of the people. At Peſſinus, the altar of Cybele was overturned almoſt in the preſence of the emperor; and in the city of Cæſarea in Cappadocia, the temple of Fortune, the ſole place of worſhip which had been left to the Pagans, was deſtroyed by the rage of a popular tumult. On theſe occaſions, a prince, who felt for the honour of the gods, was not diſpoſed to interrupt the courſe of juſtice; and his mind was ſtill more deeply exaſperated, when he found, that the fanatics, who had deſerved and ſuffered the puniſhment of incendiaries, were rewarded with the honours of martyrdom [117]. The Chriſtian ſubjects of Julian were aſſured of the hoſtile deſigns of their ſovereign; and, to their jealous apprehenſion, every circumſtance of his government might afford ſome grounds of diſcontent and ſuſpicion. In the ordinary adminiſtration of the laws, the Chriſtians, who formed ſo large a part of the people, muſt frequently be condemned: but their indulgent brethren, without examining the merits of the cauſe, preſumed their innocence, allowed their claims, and imputed the ſeverity of their judge to the partial malice of religious perſecution [118]. Theſe preſent hardſhips, intolerable as they might appear, were repreſented as a ſlight prelude of the impending calamities. The Chriſtians conſidered Julian as a cruel and crafty tyrant; who ſuſpended the execution of his revenge, till he

ſhould return victorious from the Perſian war. They expected, that as ſoon as he had triumphed over the foreign enemies of Rome, he would lay aſide the irkſome maſk of diſſimulation; that the amphitheaters would ſtream with the blood of hermits and biſhops; and that the Chriſtians, who ſtill perſevered in the profeſſion of the faith, would be deprived of the common benefits of nature and ſociety [139]. Every calumny [140] that could wound the reputation of the Apoſtate, was credulouſly embraced by the fears and hatred of his adverſaries; and their indiſcreet clamours provoked the temper of a ſovereign, whom it was their duty to reſpect, and their intereſt to flatter. They ſtill proteſted, that prayers and tears were their only weapons againſt the impious tyrant, whoſe head they devoted to the juſtice of offended Heaven. But they inſinuated, with ſullen reſolution, that their ſubmiſſion was no longer the effect of weakneſs; and that, in the imperfect ſtate of human virtue, the patience, which is founded on principle, may be exhauſted by perſecution. It is impoſſible to determine how far the zeal of Julian would have prevailed over his good ſenſe and humanity: but, if we ſeriouſly reflect on the ſtrength and ſpirit of the church, we ſhall be convinced, that, before the emperor could have extinguiſhed the religion of Chriſt, he muſt have involved his country in the horrors of a civil war [141].

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Reſidence of Julian at Antioch. — His ſucceſsful Expedition againſt the Perſians. — Paſſage of the Tigris. — The Retreat and Death of Julian. — Election of Jovian. — He ſaves the Roman Army by a diſgraceful Treaty.

CHAP. XXIV. The Cæſars of Julian.

THE philoſophical fable which Julian compoſed under the name of the CÆSARS [1], is one of the moſt agreeable and inſtructive productions of ancient wit [2]. During the freedom and equality of the days of the Saturnalia, Romulus prepared a feaſt for the deities of Olympus, who had adopted him as a worthy aſſociate, and for the Roman princes, who had reigned over his martial people, and the vanquiſhed nations of the earth. The immortals were placed in juſt order on their thrones of ſtate, and the table of the Cæſars was ſpread below the Moon, in the upper region of the air. The tyrants, who would have diſgraced the ſociety of gods and men, were thrown headlong, by the inexorable Nemeſis, into the Tartarean abyſs. The reſt of the Cæſars ſucceſſively advanced to their ſeats; and, as they paſſed, the vices, the defects, the blemiſhes of their reſpective characters, were maliciouſly noticed by old Silenus, a laughing moraliſt, who diſguiſed the wiſdom of a philoſopher under the maſk of a Bacchanal [3]. As ſoon

as the feaſt was ended, the voice of Mercury proclaimed the will of Jupiter, that a celeſtial crown ſhould be the reward of ſuperior merit. Julius Cæſar, Auguſtus, Trajan, and Marcus Antoninus, were ſelected as the moſt illuſtrious candidates; the effeminate Conſtantine[4] was not excluded from this honourable competition, and the great Alexander was invited to diſpute the prize of glory with the Roman heroes. Each of the candidates was allowed to diſplay the merit of his own exploits; but, in the judgment of the gods, the modeſt ſilence of Marcus pleaded more powerfully than the elaborate orations of his haughty rivals. When the judges of this awful conteſt proceeded to examine the heart, and to ſcrutinize the ſprings of action; the ſuperiority of the Imperial Stoic appeared ſtill more deciſive and conſpicuous[5]. Alexander and Cæſar, Auguſtus, Trajan, and Conſtantine, acknowledged with a bluſh, that fame, or power, or pleaſure, had been the important object of *their* labours: but the gods themſelves beheld, with reverence and love, a virtuous mortal, who had practiſed on the throne the leſſons of philoſophy; and who, in a ſtate of human imperfection, had aſpired to imitate the moral attributes of the Deity. The value of this agreeable compoſition (the Cæſars of Julian) is enhanced by the rank of the author. A prince, who delineates with freedom the vices and virtues of his predeceſſors, ſubſcribes, in every line, the cenſure or approbation of his own conduct.

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He reſolves to march againſt the Perſians, A. D. 362.

In the cool moments of reflection, Julian preferred the uſeful and benevolent virtues of Antoninus: but his ambitious ſpirit was inflamed by the glory of Alexander; and he ſolicited, with equal ardour, the eſteem of the wiſe, and the applauſe of the multitude. In the ſeaſon of life, when the powers of the mind and body enjoy the moſt active vigour, the emperor, who was inſtructed by the experience, and animated by the ſucceſs, of the German war, reſolved to ſignalize his reign by ſome more ſplendid and memorable atchievement. The ambaſſadors of the Eaſt, from the continent of India, and the iſle of Ceylon [6], had reſpectfully ſaluted the Roman purple [7]. The nations of the Weſt eſteemed and dreaded the perſonal virtues of Julian, both in peace and war. He deſpiſed the trophies of a Gothic victory [8], and was ſatisfied that the rapacious Barbarians of the Danube would be reſtrained from any future violation of the faith of treaties, by the terror of his name, and the additional fortifications, with which he ſtrengthened the Thracian and Illyrian frontiers. The ſucceſſor of Cyrus and Artaxerxes was the only rival whom he deemed worthy of his arms, and he reſolved, by the final conqueſt of Perſia, to chaſtiſe the haughty nation, which had ſo long reſiſted and inſulted the majeſty of Rome [9]. As ſoon as the Perſian monarch was informed that the throne of Conſtantius was filled by a prince of a very different character, he condeſcended to make ſome artful, or perhaps ſincere, overtures,

towards

towards a negociation of peace. But the pride of Sapor was aſtoniſhed by the firmneſs of Julian; who ſternly declared, that he would never conſent to hold a peaceful conference among the flames and ruins of the cities of Meſopotamia; and who added, with a ſmile of contempt, that it was needleſs to treat by ambaſſadors, as he himſelf had determined to viſit ſpeedily the court of Perſia. The impatience of the emperor urged the diligence of the military preparations. The generals were named; a formidable army was deſtined for this important ſervice; and Julian, marching from Conſtantinople through the provinces of Aſia Minor, arrived at Antioch about eight months after the death of his predeceſſor. His ardent deſire to march into the heart of Perſia, was checked by the indiſpenſable duty of regulating the ſtate of the empire; by his zeal to revive the worſhip of the gods; and by the advice of his wiſeſt friends; who repreſented the neceſſity of allowing the ſalutary interval of winter-quarters, to reſtore the exhauſted ſtrength of the legions of Gaul, and the diſcipline and ſpirit of the Eaſtern troops. Julian was perſuaded to fix, till the enſuing ſpring, his reſidence at Antioch, among a people maliciouſly diſpoſed to deride the haſte, and to cenſure the delays, of their ſovereign [10].

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Julian proceeds from Conſtantinople to Antioch, Auguſt.

If Julian had flattered himſelf, that his perſonal connection with the capital of the Eaſt would be productive of mutual ſatisfaction to the prince and people, he made a very falſe

Licentious manners of the people of Antioch.

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eſtimate of his own character, and of the manners of Antioch [11]. The warmth of the climate diſpoſed the natives to the moſt intemperate enjoyment of tranquillity and opulence; and the lively licentiouſneſs of the Greeks was blended with the hereditary ſoftneſs of the Syrians. Faſhion was the only law, pleaſure the only purſuit, and the ſplendor of dreſs and furniture was the only diſtinction of the citizens of Antioch. The arts of luxury were honoured; the ſerious and manly virtues were the ſubject of ridicule; and the contempt for female modeſty and reverend age, announced the univerſal corruption of the capital of the Eaſt. The love of ſpectacles was the taſte, or rather paſſion, of the Syrians: the moſt ſkilful artiſts were procured from the adjacent cities [12]; a conſiderable ſhare of the revenue was devoted to the public amuſements; and the magnificence of the games of the theatre and circus was conſidered as the happineſs, and as the glory, of Antioch. The ruſtic manners of a prince who diſdained ſuch glory, and was inſenſible of ſuch happineſs, ſoon diſguſted the delicacy of his ſubjects; and the effeminate Orientals could neither imitate, nor admire, the ſevere ſimplicity which Julian always maintained, and ſometimes affected. The days of feſtivity, conſecrated, by ancient cuſtom, to the honour of the gods, were the only occaſions in which Julian relaxed his philoſophic ſeverity; and thoſe feſtivals were the only days in which the Syrians of Antioch could reject the allurements

of pleaſure. The majority of the people ſupported the glory of the Chriſtian name, which had been firſt invented by their anceſtors [13]; they contented themſelves with diſobeying the moral precepts, but they were ſcrupulouſly attached to the ſpeculative doctrines, of their religion. The church of Antioch was diſtracted by hereſy and ſchiſm; but the Arians and the Athanaſians, the followers of Meletius and thoſe of Paulinus [14], were actuated by the ſame pious hatred of their common adverſary.

Their averſion to Julian.

The ſtrongeſt prejudice was entertained againſt the character of an apoſtate, the enemy and ſucceſſor of a prince who had engaged the affections of a very numerous ſect; and the removal of St. Babylas excited an implacable oppoſition to the perſon of Julian. His ſubjects complained, with ſuperſtitious indignation, that famine had purſued the emperor's ſteps from Conſtantinople to Antioch: and the diſcontent of a hungry people was exaſperated by the injudicious attempt to relieve their diſtreſs. The inclemency of the ſeaſon had affected the harveſts of Syria; and the price of bread [15], in the markets of Antioch, had naturally riſen in proportion to the ſcarcity of corn. But the fair and reaſonable proportion was ſoon violated by the rapacious arts of monopoly. In this unequal conteſt, in which the produce of the land is claimed by one party, as his excluſive property; is uſed by another as a lucrative object of trade; and is required by a third, for the daily and neceſſary

Scarcity of corn, and public diſcontent.

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ſupport of life; all the profits of the intermediate agents are accumulated on the head of the defenceleſs conſumers. The hardſhips of their ſituation were exaggerated and encreaſed by their own impatience and anxiety; and the apprehenſion of a ſcarcity gradually produced the appearances of a famine. When the luxurious citizens of Antioch complained of the high price of poultry and fiſh, Julian publicly declared, that a frugal city ought to be ſatisfied with a regular ſupply of wine, oil, and bread; but he acknowledged that it was the duty of a ſovereign to provide for the ſubſiſtence of his people. With this ſalutary view, the emperor ventured on a very dangerous and doubtful ſtep, of fixing, by legal authority, the value of corn. He enacted, that, in a time of ſcarcity, it ſhould be ſold at a price which had ſeldom been known in the moſt plentiful years; and that his own example might ſtrengthen his laws, he ſent into the market four hundred and twenty-two thouſand *modii*, or meaſures, which were drawn, by his order, from the granaries of Hierapolis, of Chalcis and even of Egypt. The conſequences might have been foreſeen, and were ſoon felt. The Imperial wheat was purchaſed by the rich merchants; the proprietors of land, or of corn, withheld from the city the accuſtomed ſupply; and the ſmall quantities that appeared in the market, were ſecretly ſold at an advanced and illegal price. Julian ſtill continued to applaud his own policy, treated the complaints of the people as a vain

and ungrateful murmur, and convinced Antioch, that he had inherited the obſtinacy, though not the cruelty, of his brother Gallus [16]. The remonſtrances of the municipal ſenate ſerved only to exaſperate his inflexible mind. He was perſuaded, perhaps with truth, that the ſenators of Antioch who poſſeſſed lands, or were concerned in trade, had themſelves contributed to the calamities of their country; and he imputed the diſreſpectful boldneſs which they aſſumed, to the ſenſe, not of public duty, but of private intereſt. The whole body, conſiſting of two hundred of the moſt noble and wealthy citizens, were ſent, under a guard, from the palace to the priſon; and though they were permitted, before the cloſe of evening, to return to their reſpective houſes [17], the emperor himſelf could not obtain the forgiveneſs which he had ſo eaſily granted. The ſame grievances were ſtill the ſubject of the ſame complaints, which were induſtriouſly circulated by the wit and levity of the Syrian Greeks. During the licentious days of the Saturnalia, the ſtreets of the city reſounded with inſolent ſongs, which derided the laws, the religion, the perſonal conduct, and even the *beard* of the emperor; and the ſpirit of Antioch was manifeſted by the connivance of the magiſtrates, and the applauſe of the multitude [18]. The diſciple of Socrates was too deeply affected by theſe popular inſults; but the monarch, endowed with quick ſenſibility, and poſſeſſed of abſolute power, refuſed his paſſions the gratification of revenge. A tyrant

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might have proſcribed, without diſtinction, the lives and fortunes of the citizens of Antioch, and the unwarlike Syrians muſt have patiently ſubmitted to the luſt, the rapaciouſneſs, and the cruelty of the faithful legions of Gaul. A milder ſentence might have deprived the capital of the Eaſt of its honours and privileges; and the courtiers, perhaps the ſubjects, of Julian, would have applauded an act of juſtice, which aſſerted the dignity of the ſupreme magiſtrate of the republic [19]. But inſtead of abuſing, or exerting, the authority of the ſtate, to revenge his perſonal injuries, Julian contented himſelf with an inoffenſive mode of retaliation, which it would be in the power of few princes to employ. He had been inſulted by ſatires and libels; in his turn he compoſed, under the title of the *Enemy of the Beard*, an ironical confeſſion of his own faults, and a ſevere ſatire of the licentious and effeminate manners of Antioch. This Imperial reply was publicly expoſed before the gates of the palace; and the MISOPOGON [20] ſtill remains a ſingular monument of the reſentment, the wit, the humanity, and the indiſcretion of Julian. Though he affected to laugh, he could not forgive [21]. His contempt was expreſſed, and his revenge might be gratified, by the nomination of a governor [22] worthy only of ſuch ſubjects: and the emperor, for ever renouncing the ungrateful city, proclaimed his reſolution to paſs the enſuing winter at Tarſus in Cilicia [23].

Julian compoſes a ſatire againſt Antioch.

Yet Antioch poſſeſſed one citizen, whoſe

genius and virtues might atone, in the opinion of Julian, for the vice and folly of his country. The ſophiſt Libanius was born in the capital of the Eaſt; he publicly profeſſed the arts of rhetoric and declamation at Nice, Nicomedia, Conſtantinople, Athens, and, during the remainder of his life, at Antioch. His ſchool was aſſiduouſly, frequented by the Grecian youth; his diſciples, who ſometimes exceeded the number of eighty, celebrated their incomparable maſter; and the jealouſy of his rivals, who perſecuted him from one city to another, confirmed the favourable opinion which Libanius oſtentatiouſly diſplayed of his ſuperior merit. The præceptors of Julian had extorted a raſh but ſolemn aſſurance, that he would never attend the lectures of their adverſary: the curioſity of the royal youth was checked and inflamed: he ſecretly procured the writings of this dangerous ſophiſt, and gradually ſurpaſſed, in the perfect imitation of his ſtyle, the moſt laborious of his domeſtic pupils [24]. When Julian aſcended the throne, he declared his impatience to embrace and reward the Syrian ſophiſt, who had preſerved, in a degenerate age, the Grecian purity of taſte, of manners, and of religion. The emperor's prepoſſeſſion was encreaſed and juſtified by the diſcreet pride of his favourite. Inſtead of preſſing, with the foremoſt of the crowd, into the palace of Conſtantinople, Libanius calmly expected his arrival at Antioch; withdrew from court on the firſt ſymptoms of coldneſs and indifference;

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The ſophiſt Libanius. A. D. 314—390, &c.

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required a formal invitation for each viſit; and taught his ſovereign an important leſſon, that he might command the obedience of a ſubject, but that he muſt deſerve the attachment of a friend. The ſophiſts of every age, deſpiſing, or affecting to deſpiſe, the accidental diſtinctions of birth and fortune[15], reſerve their eſteem for the ſuperior qualities of the mind, with which they themſelves are ſo plentifully endowed. Julian might diſdain the acclamations of a venal court, who adored the Imperial purple; but he was deeply flattered by the praiſe, the admonition, the freedom, and the envy of an independent philoſopher, who refuſed his favours, loved his perſon, celebrated his fame, and protected his memory. The voluminous writings of Libanius ſtill exiſt; for the moſt part, they are the vain and idle compoſitions of an orator, who cultivated the ſcience of words; the productions of a recluſe ſtudent, whoſe mind, regardleſs of his contemporaries, was inceſſantly fixed on the Trojan war, and the Athenian commonwealth. Yet the ſophiſt of Antioch ſometimes deſcended from this imaginary elevation; he entertained a various and elaborate correſpondence[16]; he praiſed the virtues of his own times; he boldly arraigned the abuſes of public and private life; and he eloquently pleaded the cauſe of Antioch againſt the juſt reſentment of Julian and Theodoſius. It is the common calamity of old age[17], to loſe whatever might have rendered it deſirable; but Libanius

experienced the peculiar misfortune of surviving the religion and the sciences, to which he had consecrated his genius. The friend of Julian was an indignant spectator of the triumph of Christianity; and his bigotry, which darkened the prospect of the visible world, did not inspire Libanius with any lively hopes of celestial glory and happiness [28].

March of Julian to the Euphrates, A. D. 363. March 5.

The martial impatience of Julian urged him to take the field in the beginning of the spring; and he dismissed, with contempt and reproach, the senate of Antioch, who accompanied the emperor beyond the limits of their own territory, to which he was resolved never to return. After a laborious march of two days [29], he halted on the third, at Beræa, or Aleppo, where he had the mortification of finding a senate almost entirely Christian; who received with cold and formal demonstrations of respect, the eloquent sermon of the apostle of paganism. The son of one of the most illustrious citizens of Beræa, who had embraced, either from interest or conscience, the religion of the emperor, was disinherited by his angry parent. The father and the son were invited to the Imperial table. Julian, placing himself between them, attempted, without success, to inculcate the lesson and example of toleration; supported, with affected calmness, the indiscreet zeal of the aged Christian, who seemed to forget the sentiments of nature, and the duty of a subject; and, at length turning towards the afflicted youth, "Since you have lost a father,"

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ſaid he, "for my ſake, it is incumbent on me "to ſupply his place [30]." The emperor was received in a manner much more agreeable to his wiſhes at Batnæ, a ſmall town pleaſantly ſeated in a grove of cypreſſes, about twenty miles from the city of Hierapolis. The ſolemn rites of ſacrifice were decently prepared by the inhabitants of Batnæ, who ſeemed attached to the worſhip of their tutelar deities, Apollo and Jupiter; but the ſerious piety of Julian was offended by the tumult of their applauſe; and he too clearly diſcerned, that the ſmoke which aroſe from their altars was the incenſe of flattery, rather than of devotion. The ancient and magnificent temple, which had ſanctified, for ſo many ages, the city of Hierapolis [31], no longer ſubſiſted; and the conſecrated wealth, which afforded a liberal maintenance to more than three hundred prieſts, might haſten its downfall. Yet Julian enjoyed the ſatisfaction of embracing a philoſopher and a friend, whoſe religious firmneſs had withſtood the preſſing and repeated ſolicitations of Conſtantius and Gallus, as often as thoſe princes lodged at his houſe, in their paſſage through Hierapolis. In the hurry of military preparation, and the careleſs confidence of a familiar correſpondence, the zeal of Julian appears to have been lively and uniform. He had now undertaken an important and difficult war; and the anxiety of the event rendered him ſtill more attentive to obſerve and regiſter the moſt trifling preſages, from which, according to the rules of

divination, any knowledge of futurity could be derived [32]. He informed Libanius of his progreſs as far as Hierapolis, by an elegant epiſtle [33], which diſplays the facility of his genius, and his tender friendſhip for the ſophiſt of Antioch.

His deſign of invading Perſia.

Hierapolis, ſituate almoſt on the banks of the Euphrates [34], had been appointed for the general rendezvous of the Roman troops, who immediately paſſed the great river on a bridge of boats, which was previouſly conſtructed [35]. If the inclinations of Julian had been ſimilar to thoſe of his predeceſſor, he might have waſted the active and important ſeaſon of the year in the circus of Samoſata, or in the churches of Edeſſa. But as the warlike emperor, inſtead of Conſtantius, had choſen Alexander for his model, he advanced without delay to Carrhæ [36], a very ancient city of Meſopotamia, at the diſtance of fourſcore miles from Hierapolis. The temple of the Moon attracted the devotion of Julian; but the halt of a few days was principally employed in completing the immenſe preparations of the Perſian war. The ſecret of the expedition had hitherto remained in his own breaſt; but as Carrhæ is the point of ſeparation of the two great roads, he could no longer conceal, whether it was his deſign to attack the dominions of Sapor on the ſide of the Tigris, or on that of the Euphrates. The emperor detached an army of thirty thouſand men, under the command of his kinſman Procopius, and of Sebaſtian, who had been duke of Egypt. They were ordered to direct their march towards

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Niſibis, and to ſecure the frontier from the deſultory incurſions of the enemy, before they attempted the paſſage of the Tigris. Their ſubſequent operations were left to the diſcretion of the generals; but Julian expected, that after waſting with fire and ſword the fertile diſtricts of Media and Adiabene, they might arrive under the walls of Cteſiphon about the ſame time, that he himſelf, advancing with equal ſteps along the banks of the Euphrates, ſhould beſiege the capital of the Perſian monarchy. The ſucceſs of this well-concerted plan depended, in a great meaſure, on the powerful and ready aſſiſtance of the king of Armenia, who, without expoſing the ſafety of his own dominions, might detach an army of four thouſand horſe, and twenty thouſand foot, to the aſſiſtance of the Romans [17]. But the feeble Arſaces Tiranus [18], king of Armenia, had degenerated ſtill more ſhamefully than his father Choſroes, from the manly virtues of the great Tiridates; and as the puſillanimous monarch was averſe to any enterprize of danger and glory, he could diſguiſe his timid indolence by the more decent excuſes of religion and gratitude. He expreſſed a pious attachment to the memory of Conſtantius, from whoſe hands he had received in marriage Olympias, the daughter of the præfect Ablavius; and the alliance of a female, who had been educated as the deſtined wife of the emperor Conſtans, exalted the dignity of a Barbarian king [19]. Tiranus profeſſed the Chriſtian religion; he reigned over

Diſaffection of the king of Armenia.

a nation of Chriſtians; and he was reſtrained, by every principle of conſcience and intereſt, from contributing to the victory, which would conſummate the ruin of the church. The alienated mind of Tiranus was exaſperated by the indiſcretion of Julian, who treated the king of Armenia as *his* ſlave, and as the enemy of the gods. The haughty and threatening ſtile of the Imperial mandates [40] awakened the ſecret indignation of a prince, who, in the humiliating ſtate of dependence, was ſtill conſcious of his royal deſcent from the Arſacides, the lords of the Eaſt, and the rivals of the Roman power. CHAP. XXIV.

Military preparations.

The military diſpoſitions of Julian were ſkilfully contrived to deceive the ſpies, and to divert the attention, of Sapor. The legions appeared to direct their march towards Niſibis and the Tigris. On a ſudden they wheeled to the right; traverſed the level and naked plain of Carrhæ; and reached, on the third day, the banks of the Euphrates, where the ſtrong town of Nicephorium, or Callinicum, had been founded by the Macedonian kings. From thence the emperor purſued his march, above ninety miles, along the winding ſtream of the Euphrates, till, at length, about one month after his departure from Antioch, he diſcovered the towers of Circeſium, the extreme limit of the Roman dominions. The army of Julian, the moſt numerous that any of the Cæſars had ever led againſt Perſia, conſiſted of ſixty-five thouſand effective and

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well-diſciplined ſoldiers. The veteran bands of cavalry and infantry, of Romans and Barbarians, had been ſelected from the different provinces; and a juſt pre-eminence of loyalty and valour was claimed by the hardy Gauls, who guarded the throne and perſon of their beloved prince. A formidable body of Scythian auxiliaries had been tranſported from another climate, and almoſt from another world, to invade a diſtant country, of whoſe name and ſituation they were ignorant. The love of rapine and war allured to the Imperial ſtandard ſeveral tribes of Saracens, or roving Arabs, whoſe ſervice Julian had commanded, while he ſternly refuſed the payment of the accuſtomed ſubſidies. The broad channel of the Euphrates [41] was crowded by a fleet of eleven hundred ſhips, deſtined to attend the motions, and to ſatisfy the wants, of the Roman army. The military ſtrength of the fleet was compoſed of fifty armed gallies; and theſe were accompanied by an equal number of flat-bottomed boats, which might occaſionally be connected into the form of temporary bridges. The reſt of the ſhips, partly conſtructed of timber, and partly covered with raw hides, were laden with an almoſt inexhauſtible ſupply of arms and engines, of utenſils and proviſions. The vigilant humanity of Julian had embarked a very large magazine of vinegar and biſcuit for the uſe of the ſoldiers, but he prohibited the indulgence of wine; and rigorouſly ſtopped a long ſtring of ſuperfluous camels that attempted to

follow the rear of the army. The river Chaboras falls into the Euphrates at Circeſium [42]; and as ſoon as the trumpet gave the ſignal of march, the Romans paſſed the little ſtream which ſeparated two mighty and hoſtile empires. The cuſtom of ancient diſcipline required a military oration; and Julian embraced every opportunity of diſplaying his eloquence. He animated the impatient and attentive legions by the example of the inflexible courage and glorious triumphs of their anceſtors. He excited their reſentment by a lively picture of the inſolence of the Perſians; and he exhorted them to imitate his firm reſolution, either to extirpate that perfidious nation, or to devote his life in the cauſe of the republic. The eloquence of Julian was enforced by a donative of one hundred and thirty pieces of ſilver to every ſoldier; and the bridge of the Chaboras was inſtantly cut away, to convince the troops that they muſt place their hopes of ſafety in the ſucceſs of their arms. Yet the prudence of the emperor induced him to ſecure a remote frontier, perpetually expoſed to the inroads of the hoſtile Arabs. A detachment of four thouſand men was left at Circeſium, which completed, to the number of ten thouſand, the regular garriſon of that important fortreſs [43].

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Julian enters the Perſian territories. April 7th.

From the moment that the Romans entered the enemy's country [44], the country of an active and artful enemy, the order of march was diſpoſed in three columns [45]. The ſtrength of the infantry, and conſequently of the whole army,

His march over the deſert of Meſopotamia.

CHAP. XXIV. was placed in the centre, under the peculiar command of their maſter-general Victor. On the right, the brave Nevitta led a column of ſeveral legions along the banks of the Euphrates, and almoſt always in ſight of the fleet. The left flank of the army was protected by the column of cavalry. Hormiſdas and Arinthæus were appointed generals of the horſe; and the ſingular adventures of Hormiſdas ** are not undeſerving of our notice. He was a Perſian prince, of the royal race of the Saſſanides, who, in the troubles of the minority of Sapor, had eſcaped from priſon to the hoſpitable court of the great Conſtantine. Hormiſdas, at firſt, excited the compaſſion, and at length, acquired the eſteem, of his new maſters; his valour and fidelity raiſed him to the military honours of the Roman ſervice; and, though a Chriſtian, he might indulge the ſecret ſatisfaction of convincing his ungrateful country, that an oppreſſed ſubject may prove the moſt dangerous enemy. Such was the diſpoſition of the three principal columns. The front and flanks of the army were covered by Lucillianus with a flying detachment of fifteen hundred light-armed ſoldiers, whoſe active vigilance obſerved the moſt diſtant ſigns, and conveyed the earlieſt notice, of any hoſtile approach. Dagalaiphus, and Secundinus duke of Oſroene, conducted the troops of the rear-guard; the baggage, ſecurely proceeded in the intervals of the columns; and the ranks, from a motive either of uſe or oſtentation, were formed in ſuch open order, that the whole

whole line of march extended almoſt ten miles. The ordinary poſt of Julian was at the head of the centre column; but as he preferred the duties of a general to the ſtate of a monarch, he rapidly moved, with a ſmall eſcort of light cavalry, to the front, the rear, the flanks, wherever his preſence could animate or protect the march of the Roman army. The country which they traverſed from the Chaboras, to the cultivated lands of Aſſyria, may be conſidered as a part of the deſert of Arabia, a dry and barren waſte, which could never be improved by the moſt powerful arts of human induſtry. Julian marched over the ſame ground which had been trod above ſeven hundred years before by the footſteps of the younger Cyrus, and which is deſcribed by one of the companions of his expedition, the ſage and heroic Xenophon [47]. "The country was a plain "throughout, as even as the ſea, and full of "wormwood; and if any other kind of ſhrubs "or reeds grew there, they had all an aromatic "ſmell; but no trees could be ſeen. Buſtards "and oſtriches, antelopes and wild aſſes [48], ap-"peared to be the only inhabitants of the deſert; "and the fatigues of the march were alleviated "by the amuſements of the chace." The looſe ſand of the deſert was frequently raiſed by the wind into clouds of duſt: and a great number of the ſoldiers of Julian, with their tents, were ſuddenly thrown to the ground by the violence of an unexpected hurricane.

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The ſandy plains of Meſopotamia were aban- His ſucceſs.

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doned to the antelopes and wild aſſes of the deſert; but a variety of populous towns and villages were pleaſantly ſituated on the banks of the Euphrates, and in the iſlands which are occaſionally formed by that river. The city of Annah, or Anatho [49], the actual reſidence of an Arabian Emir, is compoſed of two long ſtreets, which incloſe within a natural fortification, a ſmall iſland in the midſt, and two fruitful ſpots on either ſide, of the Euphrates. The warlike inhabitants of Anatho ſhewed a diſpoſition to ſtop the march of a Roman emperor; till they were diverted from ſuch fatal preſumption by the mild exhortations of prince Hormiſdas, and the approaching terrors of the fleet and army. They implored, and experienced, the clemency of Julian; who tranſplanted the people to an advantageous ſettlement, near Chalcis in Syria, and admitted Puſæus, the governor, to an honourable rank in his ſervice and friendſhip. But the impregnable fortreſs of Thilutha could ſcorn the menace of a ſiege; and the emperor was obliged to content himſelf with an inſulting promiſe, that when he had ſubdued the interior provinces of Perſia, Thilutha would no longer refuſe to grace the triumph of the conqueror. The inhabitants of the open towns, unable to reſiſt, and unwilling to yield, fled with precipitation; and their houſes, filled with ſpoil and proviſions, were occupied by the ſoldiers of Julian, who maſſacred, without remorſe, and without puniſhment, ſome defenceleſs women. During

the march, the Surenas, or Perſian general, and Malek Rodoſaces, the renowned Emir of the tribe of Gaſſan [50]; inceſſantly hovered round the army: every ſtraggler was intercepted; every detachment was attacked; and the valiant Hormiſdas eſcaped with ſome difficulty from their hands. But the Barbarians were finally repulſed: the country became every day leſs favourable to the operations of cavalry; and when the Romans arrived at Macepracta, they perceived the ruins of the wall, which had been conſtructed by the ancient kings of Aſſyria, to ſecure their dominions from the incurſions of the Medes. Theſe preliminaries of the expedition of Julian appear to have employed about fifteen days; and we may compute near three hundred miles from the fortreſs of Circeſium to the wall of Macepracta [51]. CHAP. XXIV.

Deſcription of Aſſyria.

The fertile province of Aſſyria [52], which ſtretched beyond the Tigris, as far as the mountains of Media [53], extended about four hundred miles from the ancient wall of Macepracta to the territory of Baſra, where the united ſtreams of the Euphrates and Tigris diſcharge themſelves into the Perſian Gulf [54]. The whole country might have claimed the peculiar name of Meſopotamia; as the two rivers, which are never more diſtant than fifty, approach, between Bagdad and Babylon, within twenty-five, miles of each other. A multitude of artificial canals, dug without much labour in a ſoft and yielding ſoil, connected the rivers, and interſected the plain, of Aſſyria. The uſes of theſe artificial

CHAP. XXIV. canals were various and important. They ſerved to diſcharge the ſuperfluous waters from one river into the other, at the ſeaſon of their reſpective inundations. Subdividing themſelves into ſmaller and ſmaller branches, they refreſhed the dry lands, and ſupplied the deficiency of rain. They facilitated the intercourſe of peace and commerce; and, as the dams could be ſpeedily broke down, they armed the deſpair of the Aſſyrians with the means of oppoſing a ſudden deluge to the progreſs of an invading army. To the ſoil and climate of Aſſyria, nature had denied ſome of her choiceſt gifts, the vine, the olive, and the fig-tree; but the food which ſupports the life of man, and particularly wheat and barley, were produced with inexhauſtible fertility; and the huſbandman, who committed his ſeed to the earth, was frequently rewarded with an encreaſe of two, or even of three, hundred. The face of the country was interſperſed with groves of innumerable palm-trees [55]; and the diligent natives celebrated, either in verſe or proſe, the three hundred and ſixty uſes to which the trunk, the branches, the leaves, the juice, and the fruit, were ſkilfully applied. Several manufactures, eſpecially thoſe of leather and linen, employed the induſtry of a numerous people, and afforded valuable materials for foreign trade; which appears, however, to have been conducted by the hands of ſtrangers. Babylon had been converted into a royal park; but near the ruins of the ancient capital, new cities had ſucceſſively

ariſen, and the populouſneſs of the country was diſplayed in the multitude of towns and villages, which were built of bricks, dried in the ſun, and ſtrongly cemented with bitumen; the natural and peculiar production of the Babylonian ſoil. While the ſucceſſors of Cyrus reigned over Aſia, the province of Aſſyria alone maintained, during a third part of the year, the luxurious plenty of the table and houſehold of the Great King. Four conſiderable villages were aſſigned for the ſubſiſtence of his Indian dogs; eight hundred ſtallions, and ſixteen thouſand mares, were conſtantly kept, at the expence of the country, for the royal ſtables: and as the daily tribute, which was paid to the ſatrap, amounted to one Engliſh buſhel of ſilver, we may compute the annual revenue of Aſſyria at more than twelve hundred thouſand pounds ſterling [56].

Invaſion of Aſſyria, A. D. 363. May.

The fields of Aſſyria were devoted by Julian to the calamities of war; and the philoſopher retaliated on a guiltleſs people the acts of rapine and cruelty, which had been committed by their haughty maſter in the Roman provinces. The trembling Aſſyrians ſummoned the rivers to their aſſiſtance; and completed, with their own hands, the ruin of their country. The roads were rendered impracticable; a flood of waters was poured into the camp; and, during ſeveral days, the troops of Julian were obliged to contend with the moſt diſcouraging hardſhips. But every obſtacle was ſurmounted by the perſeverance of the legionaries, who were inured to toil as well

CHAP. XXIV. as to danger, and who felt themſelves animated by the ſpirit of their leader. The damage was gradually repaired; the waters were reſtored to their proper channels; whole groves of palm-trees were cut down, and placed along the broken parts of the road; and the army paſſed over the broad and deeper canals, on bridges of floating rafts, which were ſupported by the help of bladders. Two cities of Aſſyria preſumed to reſiſt the arms of a Roman emperor: and they both paid the ſevere penalty of their raſhneſs.

Siege of Periſabor. At the diſtance of fifty miles from the royal reſidence of Cteſiphon, Periſabor, or Anbar, held the ſecond rank in the province: a city, large, populous, and well fortified, ſurrounded with a double wall, almoſt encompaſſed by a branch of the Euphrates, and defended by the valour of a numerous garriſon. The exhortations of Hormiſdas were repulſed with contempt; and the ears of the Perſian prince were wounded by a juſt reproach, that, unmindful of his royal birth, he conducted an army of ſtrangers againſt his king and country. The Aſſyrians maintained their loyalty by a ſkilful, as well as vigorous, defence; till the lucky ſtroke of a battering-ram, having opened a large breach, by ſhattering one of the angles of the wall, they haſtily retired into the fortifications of the interior citadel. The ſoldiers of Julian ruſhed impetuouſly into the town, and, after the full gratification of every military appetite, Periſabor was reduced to aſhes; and the engines which aſſaulted the citadel were

planted on the ruins of the ſmoking houſes. The conteſt was continued by an inceſſant and mutual diſcharge of miſſile weapons; and the ſuperiority which the Romans might derive from the mechanical powers of their baliſtæ and catapultæ was counterbalanced by the advantage of the ground on the ſide of the beſieged. But as ſoon as an *Helepolis* had been conſtructed, which could engage on equal terms with the loftieſt ramparts, the tremendous aſpect of a moving turret, that would leave no hope of reſiſtance or of mercy, terrified the defenders of the citadel into a humble ſubmiſſion; and the place was ſurrendered only two days after Julian firſt appeared under the walls of Periſabor. Two thouſand five hundred perſons, of both ſexes, the feeble remnant of a flouriſhing people, were permitted to retire: the plentiful magazines of corn, of arms, and of ſplendid furniture, were partly diſtributed among the troops, and partly reſerved for the public ſervice: the uſeleſs ſtores were deſtroyed by fire, or thrown into the ſtream of the Euphrates; and the fate of Amida was revenged by the total ruin of Periſabor. CHAP. XXIV.

The city, or rather fortreſs, of Maogamalcha, which was defended by ſixteen large towers, a deep ditch, and two ſtrong and ſolid walls of brick and bitumen, appears to have been conſtructed at the diſtance of eleven miles, as the ſafeguard of the capital of Perſia. The emperor, apprehenſive of leaving ſuch an important fortreſs in his rear, immediately formed the ſiege of

of Maogamalcha.

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Maogamalcha; and the Roman army was diſtributed, for that purpoſe, into three diviſions. Victor, at the head of the cavalry, and of a detachment of heavy-armed foot, was ordered to clear the country, as far as the banks of the Tigris, and the ſuburbs of Cteſiphon. The conduct of the attack was aſſumed by Julian himſelf, who ſeemed to place his whole dependence in the military engines which he erected againſt the walls; while he ſecretly contrived a more efficacious method of introducing his troops into the heart of the city. Under the direction of Nevitta and Dagalaiphus, the trenches were opened at a conſiderable diſtance, and gradually prolonged as far as the edge of the ditch. The ditch was ſpeedily filled with earth; and, by the inceſſant labour of the troops, a mine was carried under the foundations of the walls, and ſuſtained, at ſufficient intervals, by props of timber. Three choſen cohorts, advancing in a ſingle file, ſilently explored the dark and dangerous paſſage; till their intrepid leader whiſpered back the intelligence, that he was ready to iſſue from his confinement into the ſtreets of the hoſtile city. Julian checked their ardour, that he might enſure their ſucceſs; and immediately diverted the attention of the garriſon, by the tumult and clamour of a general aſſault. The Perſians, who, from their walls, contemptuouſly beheld the progreſs of an impotent attack, celebrated, with ſongs of triumph, the glory of Sapor; and ventured to aſſure the emperor, that he might

aſcend the ſtarry manſion of Ormuſd, before he could hope to take the impregnable city of Maogamalcha. The city was already taken. Hiſtory has recorded the name of a private ſoldier, the firſt who aſcended from the mine into a deſerted tower. The paſſage was widened by his companions, who preſſed forwards with impatient valour. Fifteen hundred enemies were already in the midſt of the city. The aſtoniſhed garriſon abandoned the walls, and their only hope of ſafety; the gates were inſtantly burſt open; and the revenge of the ſoldier, unleſs it were ſuſpended by luſt or avarice, was ſatiated by an undiſtinguiſhing maſſacre. The governor, who had yielded on a promiſe of mercy, was burnt alive, a few days afterwards, on a charge of having uttered ſome diſreſpectful words againſt the honour of Prince Hormiſdas. The fortifications were razed to the ground; and not a veſtige was left, that the city of Maogamalcha had ever exiſted. The neighbourhood of the capital of Perſia was adorned with three ſtately palaces, laboriouſly enriched with every production that could gratify the luxury and pride of an Eaſtern monarch. The pleaſant ſituation of the gardens along the banks of the Tigris, was improved, according to the Perſian taſte, by the ſymmetry of flowers, fountains, and ſhady walks: and ſpacious parks were incloſed for the reception of the bears, lions, and wild boars, which were maintained at a conſiderable expence for the pleaſure of the royal chace. The park-walls were broke

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down, the ſavage game was abandoned to the darts of the ſoldiers, and the palaces of Sapor were reduced to aſhes, by the command of the Roman emperor. Julian, on this occaſion, ſhewed himſelf ignorant, or careleſs, of the laws of civility, which the prudence and refinement of poliſhed ages have eſtabliſhed between hoſtile princes. Yet theſe wanton ravages need not excite in our breaſts any vehement emotions of pity or reſentment. A ſimple, naked ſtatue, finiſhed by the hand of a Grecian artiſt, is of more genuine value than all theſe rude and coſtly monuments of Barbaric labour: and, if we are more deeply affected by the ruin of a palace, than by the conflagration of a cottage, our humanity muſt have formed a very erroneous eſtimate of the miſeries of human life [57].

Perſonal behaviour of Julian.

Julian was an object of terror and hatred to the Perſians; and the painters of that nation repreſented the invader of their country under the emblem of a furious lion, who vomited from his mouth a conſuming fire [58]. To his friends and ſoldiers, the philoſophic hero appeared in a more amiable light; and his virtues were never more conſpicuouſly diſplayed, than in the laſt, and moſt active, period of his life. He practiſed, without effort, and almoſt without merit, the habitual qualities of temperance and ſobriety. According to the dictates of that artificial wiſdom, which aſſumes an abſolute dominion over the mind and body, he ſternly refuſed himſelf the indulgence of the moſt natural appetites [59].

In the warm climate of Aſſyria, which ſolicited a luxurious people to the gratification of every ſenſual deſire [60], a youthful conqueror preſerved his chaſtity pure and inviolate: nor was Julian ever tempted, even by a motive of curioſity, to viſit his female captives of exquiſite beauty [61], who, inſtead of reſiſting his power, would have diſputed with each other the honour of his embraces. With the ſame firmneſs that he reſiſted the allurements of love, he ſuſtained the hardſhips of war. When the Romans marched through the flat and flooded country, their ſovereign, on foot, at the head of his legions, ſhared their fatigues, and animated their diligence. In every uſeful labour, the hand of Julian was prompt and ſtrenuous; and the Imperial purple was wet and dirty, as the coarſe garment of the meaneſt ſoldier. The two ſieges allowed him ſome remarkable opportunities of ſignaliſing his perſonal valour, which, in the improved ſtate of the military art, can ſeldom be exerted by a prudent general. The emperor ſtood before the citadel of Periſabor, inſenſible of his extreme danger, and encouraged his troops to burſt open the gates of iron, till he was almoſt overwhelmed under a cloud of miſſile weapons; and huge ſtones, that were directed againſt his perſon. As he examined the exterior fortifications of Maogamalcha, two Perſians, devoting themſelves for their country, ſuddenly ruſhed upon him with drawn ſcimitars: the emperor dexterouſly received their blows on his uplifted ſhield; and, with a ſteady and well-aimed

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thruſt, laid one of his adverſaries dead at his feet. The eſteem of a prince who poſſeſſes the virtues which he approves, is the nobleſt recompence of a deſerving ſubject; and the authority which Julian derived from his perſonal merit, enabled him to revive and enforce the rigour of ancient diſcipline. He puniſhed with death, or ignominy, the miſbehaviour of three troops of horſe, who, in a ſkirmiſh with the Surenas, had loſt their honour, and one of their ſtandards: and he diſtinguiſhed with *obſidional* [62] crowns the valour of the foremoſt ſoldiers, who had aſcended into the city of Maogamalcha. After the ſiege of Periſabor, the firmneſs of the emperor was exerciſed by the inſolent avarice of the army, who loudly complained, that their ſervices were rewarded by a trifling donative of one hundred pieces of ſilver. His juſt indignation was expreſſed in the grave and manly language of a Roman. "Riches are "the object of your deſires? thoſe riches are in "the hands of the Perſians; and the ſpoils of "this fruitful country are propoſed as the prize "of your valour and diſcipline. Believe me," added Julian, "the Roman republic, which for-"merly poſſeſſed ſuch immenſe treaſures, is now "reduced to want and wretchedneſs, ſince our "princes have been perſuaded, by weak and "intereſted miniſters, to purchaſe with gold the "tranquillity of the Barbarians. The revenue "is exhauſted; the cities are ruined; the pro-"vinces are diſpeopled. For myſelf, the only "inheritance that I have received from my royal

" anceſtors, is a ſoul incapable of fear; and as long as I am convinced, that every real advantage is ſeated in the mind, I ſhall not bluſh to acknowledge an honourable poverty, which, in the days of ancient virtue, was conſidered as the glory of Fabricius. That glory, and that virtue, may be your own, if you liſten to the voice of Heaven, and of your leader. But if you will raſhly perſiſt, if you are determined to renew the ſhameful and miſchievous examples of old ſeditions, proceed — As it becomes an emperor who has filled the firſt rank among men, I am prepared to die, ſtanding; and to deſpiſe a precarious life, which, every hour may depend on an accidental fever. If I have been found unworthy of the command, there are now among you (I ſpeak it with pride and pleaſure), there are many chiefs, whoſe merit and experience are equal to the conduct of the moſt important war. Such has been the temper of my reign, that I can retire, without regret, and without apprehenſion, to the obſcurity of a private ſtation [1]." The modeſt reſolution of Julian was anſwered by the unanimous applauſe and cheerful obedience of the Romans; who declared their confidence of victory, while they fought under the banners of their heroic prince. Their courage was kindled by his frequent and familiar aſſeverations (for ſuch wiſhes were the oaths of Julian), "So may I reduce the Perſians under the yoke!" "Thus may I reſtore the ſtrength and ſplendour of the

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"republic!" The love of fame was the ardent paſſion of his ſoul: but it was not before he trampled on the ruins of Maogamalcha, that he allowed himſelf to ſay, "We have now provided "ſome materials for the ſophiſt of Antioch". "

He tranſports his fleet from the Euphrates to the Tigris.

The ſucceſsful valour of Julian had triumphed over all the obſtacles that oppoſed his march to the gates of Cteſiphon. But the reduction, or even the ſiege, of the capital of Perſia, was ſtill at a diſtance: nor can the military conduct of the emperor be clearly apprehended, without a knowledge of the country which was the theatre of his bold and ſkilful operations". Twenty miles to the ſouth of Bagdad, and on the eaſtern bank of the Tigris, the curioſity of travellers has obſerved ſome ruins of the palaces of Cteſiphon, which, in the time of Julian, was a great and populous city. The name and glory of the adjacent Seleucia were for ever extinguiſhed; and the only remaining quarter of that Greek colony had reſumed, with the Aſſyrian language and manners, the primitive appellation of Coche. Coche was ſituate on the weſtern ſide of the Tigris; but it was naturally conſidered as a ſuburb of Cteſiphon, with which we may ſuppoſe it to have been connected by a permanent bridge of boats. The united parts contributed to form the common epithet of Al Modain, THE CITIES, which the Orientals have beſtowed on the winter reſidence of the Saſſanides; and the whole circumference of the Perſian capital was ſtrongly fortified by the waters of the river, by lofty walls,

and by impracticable moraſſes. Near the ruins of Seleucia, the camp of Julian was fixed; and ſecured, by a ditch and rampart, againſt the ſallies of the numerous and enterpriſing garriſon of Coche. In this fruitful and pleaſant country, the Romans were plentifully ſupplied with water and forage: and ſeveral forts, which might have embarraſſed the motions of the army, ſubmitted, after ſome reſiſtance, to the efforts of their valour. The fleet paſſed from the Euphrates into an artificial derivation of that river, which pours a copious and navigable ſtream into the Tigris, at a ſmall diſtance *below* the great city. If they had followed this royal canal, which bore the name of Nahar-Malcha [“], the intermediate ſituation of Coche would have ſeparated the fleet and army of Julian; and the raſh attempt of ſteering againſt the current of the Tigris, and forcing their way through the midſt of a hoſtile capital, muſt have been attended with the total deſtruction of the Roman navy. The prudence of the emperor foreſaw the danger, and provided the remedy. As he had minutely ſtudied the operations of Trajan in the ſame country, he ſoon recollected, that his warlike predeceſſor had dug a new and navigable canal, which, leaving Coche on the right-hand, conveyed the waters of the Nahar-Malcha into the river Tigris, at ſome diſtance *above* the cities. From the information of the peaſants, Julian aſcertained the veſtiges of this ancient work, which were almoſt obliterated by deſign or accident. By the

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indefatigable labour of the ſoldiers, a broad and deep channel was ſpeedily prepared for the reception of the Euphrates. A ſtrong dike was conſtructed to interrupt the ordinary current of the Nahar-Malcha: a flood of waters ruſhed impetuouſly into their new bed; and the Roman fleet, ſteering their triumphant courſe into the Tigris, derided the vain and ineffectual barriers which the Perſians of Cteſiphon had erected to oppoſe their paſſage.

Paſſage of the Tigris, and victory of the Romans.

As it became neceſſary to tranſport the Roman army over the Tigris, another labour preſented itſelf, of leſs toil, but of more danger, than the preceding expedition. The ſtream was broad and rapid; the aſcent ſteep and difficult; and the intrenchments which had been formed on the ridge of the oppoſite bank, were lined with a numerous army of heavy cuiraſſiers, dextrous archers, and huge elephants; who (according to the extravagant hyperbole of Libanius) could trample, with the ſame eaſe, a field of corn, or a legion of Romans [67]. In the preſence of ſuch an enemy, the conſtruction of a bridge was impracticable; and the intrepid prince, who inſtantly ſeized the only poſſible expedient, concealed his deſign, till the moment of execution, from the knowledge of the Barbarians, of his own troops, and even of his generals themſelves. Under the ſpecious pretence of examining the ſtate of the magazines, fourſcore veſſels were gradually unladen; and a ſelect detachment, apparently deſtined for ſome ſecret expedition, was ordered to

ſtand

ſtand to their arms on the firſt ſignal. Julian diſguiſed the ſilent anxiety of his own mind with ſmiles of confidence and joy; and amuſed the hoſtile nations with the ſpectacle of military games, which he inſultingly celebrated under the walls of Coche. The day was conſecrated to pleaſure; but, as ſoon as the hour of ſupper was paſt, the emperor ſummoned the generals to his tent; and acquainted them, that he had fixed that night for the paſſage of the Tigris. They ſtood in ſilent and reſpectful aſtoniſhment, but, when the venerable Salluſt aſſumed the privilege of his age and experience, the reſt of the chiefs ſupported with freedom the weight of his prudent remonſtrances [*]. Julian contented himſelf with obſerving, that conqueſt and ſafety depended on the attempt; that, inſtead of diminiſhing, the number of their enemies would be increaſed, by ſucceſſive reinforcements; and that a longer delay would neither contract the breadth of the ſtream, nor level the height of the bank. The ſignal was inſtantly given, and obeyed: the moſt impatient of the legionaries leaped into five veſſels that lay neareſt to the bank; and, as they plied their oars with intrepid diligence, they were loſt, after a few moments, in the darkneſs of the night. A flame aroſe on the oppoſite ſide; and Julian, who too clearly underſtood that his foremoſt veſſels, in attempting to land, had been fired by the enemy, dexterouſly converted their extreme danger into a preſage of victory. "Our "fellow-ſoldiers," he eagerly exclaimed, "are

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"already maſters of the bank; ſee—they make "the appointed ſignal: let us haſten to emulate "and aſſiſt their courage." The united and rapid motion of a great fleet broke the violence of the current, and they reached the eaſtern ſhore of the Tigris with ſufficient ſpeed to extinguiſh the flames, and reſcue their adventurous companions. The difficulties of a ſteep and lofty aſcent were increaſed by the weight of armour, and the darkneſs of the night. A ſhower of ſtones, darts, and fire, was inceſſantly diſcharged on the heads of the aſſailants; who, after an arduous ſtruggle, climbed the bank, and ſtood victorious upon the rampart. As ſoon as they poſſeſſed a more equal field, Julian, who, with his light-infantry, had led the attack [70], darted through the ranks a ſkilful and experienced eye: his braveſt ſoldiers, according to the precepts of Homer [71], were diſtributed in the front and rear; and all the trumpets of the Imperial army ſounded to battle. The Romans, after ſending up a military ſhout, advanced in meaſured ſteps to the animating notes of martial muſic; launched their formidable javelins; and ruſhed forwards with drawn ſwords, to deprive the Barbarians, by a cloſer onſet, of the advantage of their miſſile weapons. The whole engagement laſted above twelve hours; till the gradual retreat of the Perſians was changed into a diſorderly flight, of which the ſhameful example was given by the principal leaders, and the Surenas himſelf. They were purſued to the

gates of Cteſiphon; and the conquerors might have entered the diſmayed city[71], if their general Victor, who was dangerouſly wounded with an arrow, had not conjured them to deſiſt from a raſh attempt, which muſt be fatal, if it were not ſucceſsful. On *their* ſide, the Romans acknowledged the loſs of only ſeventy-five men; while they affirmed, that the Barbarians had left on the field of battle two thouſand five hundred, or even ſix thouſand, of their braveſt ſoldiers. The ſpoil was ſuch as might be expected from the riches and luxury of an Oriental camp; large quantities of ſilver and gold, ſplendid arms and trappings, and beds and tables of maſſy ſilver. The victorious emperor diſtributed, as the rewards of valour, ſome honourable gifts, civic, and mural, and naval, crowns; which he, and perhaps he alone, eſteemed more precious than the wealth of Aſia. A ſolemn ſacrifice was offered to the god of war, but the appearances of the victims threatened the moſt inauſpicious events; and Julian ſoon diſcovered, by leſs ambiguous ſigns, that he had now reached the term of his proſperity[72].

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Situation and obſtinacy of Julian. A. D. 363. June.

On the ſecond day after the battle, the domeſtic guards, the Jovians and Herculians, and the remaining troops, which compoſed near two thirds of the whole army, were ſecurely wafted over the Tigris[73]. While the Perſians beheld from the walls of Cteſiphon the deſolation of the adjacent country, Julian caſt many an anxious look towards the North, in full expectation, that as he himſelf had victoriouſly penetrated to the

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capital of Sapor, the march and junction of his lieutenants, Sebaſtian and Procopius, would be executed with the ſame courage and diligence. His expectations were diſappointed by the treachery of the Armenian king, who permitted, and moſt probably directed, the deſertion of his auxiliary troops from the camp of the Romans[74]; and by the diſſentions of the two generals, who were incapable of forming or executing any plan for the public ſervice. When the emperor had relinquiſhed the hope of this important reinforcement, he condeſcended to hold a council of war, and approved, after a full debate, the ſentiment of thoſe generals, who diſſuaded the ſiege of Cteſiphon, as a fruitleſs and pernicious undertaking. It is not eaſy for us to conceive, by what arts of fortification, a city thrice beſieged and taken by the predeceſſors of Julian, could be rendered impregnable againſt an army of ſixty thouſand Romans, commanded by a brave and experienced general, and abundantly ſupplied with ſhips, proviſions, battering engines, and military ſtores. But we may reſt aſſured, from the love of glory, and contempt of danger, which formed the character of Julian, that he was not diſcouraged by any trivial or imaginary obſtacles[75]. At the very time when he declined the ſiege of Cteſiphon, he rejected, with obſtinacy and diſdain, the moſt flattering offers of a negociation of peace. Sapor, who had been ſo long accuſtomed to the tardy oſtentation of Conſtantius, was ſurpriſed by the intrepid diligence of

his ſucceſſor. As far as the confines of India and Scythia, the ſatraps of the diſtant provinces were ordered to aſſemble their troops, and to march, without delay, to the aſſiſtance of their monarch. But their preparations were dilatory, their motions ſlow; and before Sapor could lead an army into the field, he received the melancholy intelligence of the devaſtation of Aſſyria, the ruin of his palaces, and the ſlaughter of his braveſt troops, who defended the paſſage of the Tigris. The pride of royalty was humbled in the duſt; he took his repaſts on the ground; and the diſorder of his hair expreſſed the grief and anxiety of his mind. Perhaps he would not have refuſed to purchaſe, with one half of his kingdom, the ſafety of the remainder; and he would have gladly ſubſcribed himſelf, in a treaty of peace, the faithful and dependent ally of the Roman conqueror. Under the prètence of private buſineſs, a miniſter of rank and confidence was ſecretly diſpatched to embrace the knees of Hormiſdas, and to requeſt, in the language of a ſuppliant, that he might be introduced into the preſence of the emperor. The Saſſanian prince, whether he liſtened to the voice of pride or humanity, whether he conſulted the ſentiments of his birth, or the duties of his ſituation, was equally inclined to promote a ſalutary meaſure, which would terminate the calamities of Perſia, and ſecure the triumph of Rome. He was aſtoniſhed by the inflexible firmneſs of a hero; who remembered, moſt unfortunately for himſelf, and

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for his country, that Alexander had uniformly rejected the propoſitions of Darius. But as Julian was ſenſible, that the hope of a ſafe and honourable peace might cool the ardour of his troops; he earneſtly requeſted, that Hormiſdas would privately diſmiſs the miniſter of Sapor, and conceal this dangerous temptation from the knowledge of the camp[76].

He burns his fleet,

The honour, as well as intereſt, of Julian, forbade him to conſume his time under the impregnable walls of Cteſiphon; and as often as he defied the Barbarians, who defended the city, to meet him on the open plain, they prudently replied, that if he deſired to exerciſe his valour, he might ſeek the army of the Great King. He felt the inſult, and he accepted the advice. Inſtead of confining his ſervile march to the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris, he reſolved to imitate the adventurous ſpirit of Alexander, and boldly to advance into the inland provinces, till he forced his rival to contend with him, perhaps in the plains of Arbela, for the empire of Aſia. The magnanimity of Julian was applauded and betrayed, by the arts of a noble Perſian, who, in the cauſe of his country, had generouſly ſubmitted to act a part full of danger, of falſehood, and of ſhame[77]. With a train of faithful followers, he deſerted to the Imperial camp; expoſed, in a ſpecious tale, the injuries which he had ſuſtained; exaggerated the cruelty of Sapor, the diſcontent of the people, and the weakneſs of the monarchy, and confidently offered himſelf as

the hoſtage and guide of the Roman march. The moſt rational grounds of ſuſpicion were urged, without effect, by the wiſdom and experience of Hormiſdas; and the credulous Julian, receiving the traitor into his boſom, was perſuaded to iſſue an haſty order which, in the opinion of mankind, appeared to arraign his prudence, and to endanger his ſafety. He deſtroyed, in a ſingle hour, the whole navy, which had been tranſported above five hundred miles, at ſo great an expence of toil, of treaſure, and of blood. Twelve, or at the moſt, twenty-two, ſmall veſſels were ſaved; to accompany, on carriages, the march of the army, and to form occaſional bridges for the paſſage of the rivers. A ſupply of twenty days proviſions was reſerved for the uſe of the ſoldiers; and the reſt of the magazines, with a fleet of eleven hundred veſſels, which rode at anchor in the Tigris, were abandoned to the flames, by the abſolute command of the emperor. The Chriſtian biſhops, Gregory and Auguſtin, inſult the madneſs of the apoſtate, who executed, with his own hands, the ſentence of divine juſtice. Their authority, of leſs weight, perhaps, in a military queſtion, is confirmed by the cool judgment of an experienced ſoldier, who was himſelf ſpectator of the conflagration, and who could not diſapprove the reluctant murmurs of the troops[72]. Yet there are not wanting ſome ſpecious, and perhaps ſolid, reaſons, which might juſtify the reſolution of Julian. The navigation of the Euphrates never aſcended

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above Babylon, nor that of the Tigris above Opis[79]. The diſtance of the laſt-mentioned city from the Roman camp was not very conſiderable; and Julian muſt ſoon have renounced the vain and impracticable attempt of forcing upwards a great fleet againſt the ſtream of a rapid river[80], which in ſeveral places was embarraſſed by natural or artificial cataracts[81]. The power of ſails and oars was inſufficient; it became neceſſary to tow the ſhips againſt the current of the river; the ſtrength of twenty thouſand ſoldiers was exhauſted in this tedious and ſervile labour; and if the Romans continued to march along the banks of the Tigris, they could only expect to return home without atchieving any enterprize worthy of the genius or fortune of their leader. If, on the contrary, it was adviſeable to advance into the inland country, the deſtruction of the fleet and magazines was the only meaſure which could ſave that valuable prize from the hands of the numerous and active troops which might ſuddenly be poured from the gates of Cteſiphon. Had the arms of Julian been victorious we ſhould now admire the conduct, as well as the courage, of a hero, who, by depriving his ſoldiers of the hopes of a retreat, left them only the alternative of death or conqueſt[82].

and marches againſt Sapor.

The cumberſome train of artillery and waggons, which retards the operations of a modern army, were in a great meaſure unknown in the camps of the Romans[83]. Yet, in every age, the ſubſiſtence of ſixty thouſand men muſt have been

one of the moſt important cares of a prudent general; and that ſubſiſtence could only be drawn from his own or from the enemy's country. Had it been poſſible for Julian to maintain a bridge of communication on the Tigris, and to preſerve the conquered places of Aſſyria, a deſolated province could not afford any large or regular ſupplies, in a ſeaſon of the year when the lands were covered by the inundation of the Euphrates[84], and the unwholeſome air was darkened with ſwarms of innumerable inſects [85]. The appearance of the hoſtile country was far more inviting. The extenſive region that lies between the river Tigris and the mountains of Media, was filled with villages and towns; and the fertile ſoil, for the moſt part, was in a very improved ſtate of cultivation. Julian might expect, that a conqueror, who poſſeſſed the two forcible inſtruments of perſuaſion, ſteel and gold, would eaſily procure a plentiful ſubſiſtence from the fears or avarice of the natives. But, on the approach of the Romans, this rich and ſmiling proſpect was inſtantly blaſted. Wherever they moved, the inhabitants deſerted the open villages, and took ſhelter in the fortified towns; the cattle was driven away; the graſs and ripe corn were conſumed with fire; and, as ſoon as the flames had ſubſided which interrupted the march of Julian, he beheld the melancholy face of a ſmoking and naked deſert. This deſperate but effectual method of defence, can only be executed by the enthuſiaſm of a people who prefer their independence

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to their property; or by the rigour of an arbitrary government, which conſults the public ſafety without ſubmitting to their inclinations the liberty of choice. On the preſent occaſion, the zeal and obedience of the Perſians ſeconded the commands of Sapor; and the emperor was ſoon reduced to the ſcanty ſtock of proviſions, which continually waſted in his hands. Before they were entirely conſumed, he might ſtill have reached the wealthy and unwarlike cities of Ecbatana, or Suſa, by the effort of a rapid and well-directed march[86]; but he was deprived of this laſt reſource by his ignorance of the roads, and by the perfidy of his guides. The Romans wandered ſeveral days in the country to the eaſtward of Bagdad: the Perſian deſerter, who had artfully led them into the ſnare, eſcaped from their reſentment; and his followers, as ſoon as they were put to the torture, confeſſed the ſecret of the conſpiracy. The viſionary conqueſts of Hyrcania and India, which had ſo long amuſed, now tormented, the mind of Julian. Conſcious that his own imprudence was the cauſe of the public diſtreſs, he anxiouſly balanced the hopes of ſafety or ſucceſs, without obtaining a ſatisfactory anſwer either from gods or men. At length, as the only practicable meaſure, he embraced the reſolution of directing his ſteps towards the banks of the Tigris, with the deſign of ſaving the army by a haſty march to the confines of Corduene; a fertile and friendly province, which acknowledged the ſovereignty of Rome. The deſponding troops

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obeyed the ſignal of the retreat, only ſeventy days after they had paſſed the Chaboras, with the ſanguine expectation of ſubverting the throne of Perſia [87].

June 16.

Retreat and diſtreſs of the Roman army.

As long as the Romans ſeemed to advance into the country, their march was obſerved and inſulted from a diſtance by ſeveral bodies of Perſian cavalry; who ſhewing themſelves, ſometimes in looſe, and ſometimes in cloſer, order, faintly ſkirmiſhed with the advanced guards. Theſe detachments were, however, ſupported by a much greater force and the heads of the columns were no ſooner pointed towards the Tigris, than a cloud of duſt aroſe on the plain. The Romans, who now aſpired only to the permiſſion of a ſafe and ſpeedy retreat, endeavoured to perſuade themſelves, that this formidable appearance was occaſioned by a troop of wild aſſes, or perhaps by the approach of ſome friendly Arabs. They halted, pitched their tents, fortified their camp, paſſed the whole night in continual alarms; and diſcovered, at the dawn of day, that they were ſurrounded by an army of Perſians. This army, which might be conſidered only as the van of the Barbarians, was ſoon followed by the main body of cuiraſſiers, archers, and elephants commanded by Meranes, a general of rank and reputation. He was accompanied by two of the king's ſons, and many of the principal ſatraps; and fame and expectation exaggerated the ſtrength of the remaining powers, which ſlowly advanced under the conduct of Sapor

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himſelf. As the Romans continued their march, their long array, which was forced to bend, or divide, according to the varieties of the ground, afforded frequent and favourable opportunities to their vigilant enemies. The Perſians repeatedly charged with fury; they were repeatedly repulſed with firmneſs; and the action at Maronga, which almoſt deſerved the name of a battle, was marked by a conſiderable loſs of ſatraps and elephants, perhaps of equal value in the eyes of their monarch. Theſe ſplendid advantages were not obtained without an adequate ſlaughter on the ſide of the Romans: ſeveral officers of diſtinction were either killed or wounded; and the emperor himſelf, who, on all occaſions of danger, inſpired and guided the valour of his troops, was obliged to expoſe his perſon, and exert his abilities. The weight of offenſive and defenſive arms, which ſtill conſtituted the ſtrength and ſafety of the Romans, diſabled them from making any long or effectual purſuit; and as the horſemen of the Eaſt were trained to dart their javelins, and ſhoot their arrows, at full ſpeed, and in every poſſible direction[11], the cavalry of Perſia was never more formidable than in the moment of a rapid and diſorderly flight. But the moſt certain and irreparable loſs of the Romans, was that of time. The hardy veterans, accuſtomed to the cold climate of Gaul and Germany, fainted under the ſultry heat of an Aſſyrian ſummer; their vigour was exhauſted by the inceſſant repetition of march and combat;

and the progreſs of the army was ſuſpended by the precautions of a ſlow and dangerous retreat, in the preſence of an active enemy. Every day, every hour, as the ſupply diminiſhed, the value and price of ſubſiſtence increaſed in the Roman camp[89]. Julian, who always contented himſelf with ſuch food as a hungry ſoldier would have diſdained, diſtributed, for the uſe of the troops, the proviſions of the Imperial houſehold, and whatever could be ſpared from the ſumpter-horſes of the tribunes and generals. But this feeble relief ſerved only to aggravate the ſenſe of the public diſtreſs; and the Romans began to entertain the moſt gloomy apprehenſions, that before they could reach the frontiers of the empire, they ſhould all periſh, either by famine, or by the ſword of the Barbarians[90].

Julian is mortally wounded.

While Julian ſtruggled with the almoſt inſuperable difficulties of his ſituation, the ſilent hours of the night were ſtill devoted to ſtudy and contemplation. Whenever he cloſed his eyes in ſhort and interrupted ſlumbers, his mind was agitated with painful anxiety; nor can it be thought ſurpriſing, that the Genius of the empire ſhould once more appear before him, covering with a funereal veil, his head, and his horn of abundance, and ſlowly retiring from the Imperial tent. The monarch ſtarted from his couch, and ſtepping forth, to refreſh his wearied ſpirits with the coolneſs of the midnight air, he beheld a fiery meteor, which ſhot athwart the ſky, and ſuddenly vaniſhed. Julian was convinced that

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he had ſeen the menacing countenance of the god of war[91]; the council which he ſummoned, of Tuſcan Haruſpices[92], unanimouſly pronounced that he ſhould abſtain from action: but on this occaſion, neceſſity and reaſon were more prevalent than ſuperſtition; and the trumpets ſounded at the break of day. The army marched through a hilly country; and the hills had been ſecretly occupied by the Perſians. Julian led the van, with the ſkill and attention of a conſummate general; he was alarmed by the intelligence that his rear was ſuddenly attacked. The heat of the weather had tempted him to lay aſide his cuiraſs; but he ſnatched a ſhield from one of his attendants, and haſtened, with a ſufficient reinforcement, to the relief of the rear-guard. A ſimilar danger recalled the intrepid prince to the defence of the front; and as he galloped between the columns, the centre of the left was attacked, and almoſt overpowered, by a furious charge of the Perſian cavalry and elephants. This huge body was ſoon defeated, by the well-timed evolution of the light infantry, who aimed their weapons, with dexterity and effect, againſt the backs of the horſemen, and the legs of the elephants. The Barbarians fled; and Julian, who was foremoſt in every danger, animated the purſuit with his voice and geſtures. His trembling guards, ſcattered and oppreſſed by the diſorderly throng of friends and enemies, reminded their fearleſs ſovereign that he was without armour; and conjured him to decline the fall of

the impending ruin. As they exclaimed [91], a cloud of darts and arrows was diſcharged from the flying ſquadrons; and a javelin, after razing the ſkin of his arm, tranſpierced the ribs, and fixed in the inferior part of the liver. Julian attempted to draw the deadly weapon from his ſide; but his fingers were cut by the ſharpneſs of the ſteel, and he fell ſenſeleſs from his horſe. His guards flew to his relief; and the wounded emperor was gently raiſed from the ground, and conveyed out of the tumult of the battle into an adjacent tent. The report of the melancholy event paſſed from rank to rank; but the grief of the Romans inſpired them with invincible valour, and the deſire of revenge. The bloody and obſtinate conflict was maintained by the two armies, till they were ſeparated by the total darkneſs of the night. The Perſians derived ſome honour from the advantage which they obtained againſt the left wing, where Anatolius, maſter of the offices, was ſlain, and the præfect Salluſt very narrowly eſcaped. But the event of the day was adverſe to the Barbarians. They abandoned the field, their two generals, Meranes, and Nohordates [92], fifty nobles or ſatraps, and a multitude of their braveſt ſoldiers: and the ſucceſs of the Romans, if Julian had ſurvived, might have been improved into a deciſive and uſeful victory.

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The firſt words that Julian uttered, after his recovery from the fainting fit, into which he had been thrown by loſs of blood, were expreſſive of his martial ſpirit. He called for his horſe and

The death of Julian, A. D. 363. June 26.

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arms, and was impatient to ruſh into the battle. His remaining ſtrength was exhauſted by the painful effort; and the ſurgeons, who examined his wound, diſcovered the ſymptoms of approaching death. He employed the awful moments with the firm temper of a hero and a ſage; the philoſophers who had accompanied him in this fatal expedition, compared the tent of Julian with the priſon of Socrates; and the ſpectators, whom duty, or friendſhip, or curioſity, had aſſembled round his couch, liſtened with reſpectful grief to the funeral oration of their dying emperor [*]. "Friends and fellow-ſoldiers, the "ſeaſonable period of my departure is now ar- "rived, and I diſcharge, with the cheerfulneſs "of a ready debtor, the demands of nature. "I have learned from philoſophy, how much the "ſoul is more excellent than the body; and that "the ſeparation of the nobler ſubſtance, ſhould "be the ſubject of joy, rather than of affliction. "I have learned from religion, that an early "death has often been the reward of piety [*]; "and I accept, as a favour of the gods, the "mortal ſtroke, that ſecures me from the dan- "ger of diſgracing a character, which has hi- "therto been ſupported by virtue and fortitude. "I die without remorſe, as I have lived with- "out guilt. I am pleaſed to reflect on the in- "nocence of my private life; and I can affirm "with confidence, that the ſupreme authority, "that emanation of the Divine Power, has been "preſerved in my hands pure and immaculate.

"Deteſting

" Deteſting the corrupt and deſtructive maxims CHAP.
" of deſpotiſm, I have conſidered the happineſs XXIV.
" of the people as the end of government.
" Submitting my actions to the laws of prudence,
" of juſtice, and of moderation, I have truſted
" the event to the care of Providence. Peace
" was the object of my counſels, as long as peace
" was conſiſtent with the public welfare; but
" when the imperious voice of my country ſum-
" moned me to arms, I expoſed my perſon to
" the dangers of war, with the clear fore-know-
" ledge (which I had acquired from the art of
" divination) that I was deſtined to fall by the
" ſword. I now offer my tribute of gratitude
" to the Eternal Being, who has not ſuffered me
" to periſh by the cruelty of a tyrant, by the
" ſecret dagger of conſpiracy, or by the ſlow
" tortures of lingering diſeaſe. He has given
" me, in the midſt of an honourable career, a
" ſplendid and glorious departure from this world;
" and I hold it equally abſurd, equally baſe,
" to ſolicit, or to decline, the ſtroke of fate. —
" Thus much I have attempted to ſay; but
" my ſtrength fails me, and I feel the approach
" of death. — I ſhall cautiouſly refrain from
" any word that may tend to influence your
" ſuffrages in the election of an emperor. My
" choice might be imprudent, or injudicious;
" and if it ſhould not be ratified by the con-
" ſent of the army, it might be fatal to the
" perſon whom I ſhould recommend. I ſhall
" only, as a good citizen, expreſs my hopes,

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"that the Romans may be bleſſed with the go-
"vernment of a virtuous ſovereign." After this diſcourſe, which Julian pronounced in a firm and gentle tone of voice, he diſtributed, by a military teſtament [97], the remains of his private fortune; and making ſome enquiry why Anatolius was not preſent, he underſtood, from the anſwer of Salluſt, that Anatolius was killed; and bewailed, with amiable inconſiſtency, the loſs of his friend. At the ſame time he reproved the immoderate grief of the ſpectators; and conjured them not to diſgrace, by unmanly tears, the fate of a prince, who in a few moments would be united with heaven, and with the ſtars [98]. The ſpectators were ſilent; and Julian entered into a metaphyſical argument with the philoſophers Priſcus and Maximus, on the nature of the ſoul. The efforts which he made, of mind, as well as body, moſt probably haſtened his death. His wound began to bleed with freſh violence; his reſpiration was embarraſſed by the ſwelling of the veins: he called for a draught of cold water, and, as ſoon as he had drank it, expired without pain, about the hour of midnight. Such was the end of that extraordinary man, in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, after a reign of one year and about eight months, from the death of Conſtantius. In his laſt moments he diſplayed, perhaps with ſome oſtentation, the love of virtue and of fame, which had been the ruling paſſions of his life [99].

Election of the emperor Jovian,

The triumph of Chriſtianity, and the calamities of the empire, may, in ſome meaſure, be

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aſcribed to Julian himſelf, who had neglected to ſecure the future execution of his deſigns, by the timely and judicious nomination of an aſſociate and ſucceſſor. But the royal race of Conſtantius Chlorus was reduced to his own perſon; and if he entertained any ſerious thoughts of inveſting with the purple the moſt worthy among the Romans, he was diverted from his reſolution by the difficulty of the choice, the jealouſy of power, the fear of ingratitude, and the natural preſumption of health, of youth, and of proſperity. His unexpected death left the empire without a maſter, and without an heir, in a ſtate of perplexity and danger, which, in the ſpace of fourſcore years, had never been experienced, ſince the election of Diocletian. In a government, which had almoſt forgotten the diſtinction of pure and noble blood, the ſuperiority of birth was of little moment; the claims of official rank were accidental and precarious; and the candidates, who might aſpire to aſcend the vacant throne, could be ſupported only by the conſciouſneſs of perſonal merit, or by the hopes of popular favour. But the ſituation of a famiſhed army, encompaſſed on all ſides by an hoſt of Barbarians, ſhortened the moments of grief and deliberation. In this ſcene of terror and diſtreſs, the body of the deceaſed prince, according to his own directions, was decently embalmed; and, at the dawn of day, the generals convened a military ſenate, at which the commanders of the legions, and the officers, both of cavalry and infantry, were

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invited to assist. Three or four hours of the night had not passed away without some secret cabals; and when the election of an emperor was proposed, the spirit of faction began to agitate the assembly. Victor and Arinthæus collected the remains of the court of Constantius; the friends of Julian attached themselves to the Gallic chiefs, Dagalaiphus and Nevitta; and the most fatal consequences might be apprehended from the discord of two factions, so opposite in their character and interest, in their maxims of government, and perhaps in their religious principles. The superior virtues of Sallust could alone reconcile their divisions, and unite their suffrages; and the venerable præfect would immediately have been declared the successor of Julian, if he himself, with sincere and modest firmness, had not alleged his age and infirmities, so unequal to the weight of the diadem. The generals, who were surprised and perplexed by his refusal, shewed some disposition to adopt the salutary advice of an inferior officer[100], that they should act as they would have acted in the absence of the emperor; that they should exert their abilities to extricate the army from the present distress; and, if they were fortunate enough to reach the confines of Mesopotamia, they should proceed with united and deliberate counsels in the election of a lawful sovereign. While they debated, a few voices saluted Jovian, who was no more than *first*[101] of the domestics, with the names of Emperor and Augustus. The tumultuary acclamation was instantly repeated by the guards

who ſurrounded the tent, and paſſed, in a few minutes, to the extremities of the line. The new prince, aſtoniſhed with his own fortune, was haſtily inveſted with the Imperial ornaments, and received an oath of fidelity from the generals, whoſe favour and protection he ſo lately ſolicited. The ſtrongeſt recommendation of Jovian was the merit of his father, Count Varronian, who enjoyed, in honourable retirement, the fruit of his long ſervices. In the obſcure freedom of a private ſtation, the ſon indulged his taſte for wine and women; yet he ſupported, with credit, the character of a Chriſtian [102] and a ſoldier. Without being conſpicuous for any of the ambitious qualifications which excite the admiration and envy of mankind, the comely perſon of Jovian, his cheerful temper, and familiar wit, had gained the affection of his fellow ſoldiers; and the generals of both parties acquieſced in a popular election, which had not been conducted by the arts of their enemies. The pride of this unexpected elevation was moderated by the juſt apprehenſion, that the ſame day might terminate the life and reign of the new emperor. The preſſing voice of neceſſity was obeyed without delay; and the firſt orders iſſued by Jovian, a few hours after his predeceſſor had expired, were to proſecute a march, which could alone extricate the Romans from their actual diſtreſs [103].

Danger and difficulty of the retreat.

The eſteem of an enemy is moſt ſincerely expreſſed by his fears; and the degree of fear may be accurately meaſured by the joy with which he

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celebrates his deliverance. The welcome news of the death of Julian, which a deſerter revealed to the camp of Sapor, inſpired the deſponding monarch with a ſudden confidence of victory. He immediately detached the royal cavalry, perhaps the ten thouſand *Immortals* [104], to ſecond and ſupport the purſuit; and diſcharged the whole weight of his united forces on the rear-guard of the Romans. The rear-guard was thrown into diſorder; the renowned legions, which derived their titles from Diocletian, and his warlike colleague, were broke and trampled down by the elephants; and three tribunes loſt their lives in attempting to ſtop the flight of their ſoldiers. The battle was at length reſtored by the perſevering valour of the Romans; the Perſians were repulſed with a great ſlaughter of men and elephants; and the army, after marching and fighting a long ſummer's day, arrived, in the evening, at Samara on the banks of the Tigris, about one hundred miles above Cteſiphon [105]. On the enſuing day, the Barbarians, inſtead of haraſſing the march, attacked the camp, of Jovian; which had been ſeated in a deep and ſequeſtered valley. From the hills, the archers of Perſia inſulted and annoyed the wearied legionaries; and a body of cavalry, which had penetrated with deſperate courage through the Prætorian gate, was cut in pieces, after a doubtful conflict, near the Imperial tent. In the ſucceeding night, the camp of Carche was protected by the lofty dikes of the river; and the Roman army, though inceſſantly expoſed to the vexatious

purſuit of the Saracens, pitched their tents near the city of Dura[106], four days after the death of Julian. The Tigris was ſtill on their left; their hopes and proviſions were almoſt conſumed; and the impatient ſoldiers, who had fondly perſuaded themſelves, that the frontiers of the empire were not far diſtant, requeſted their new ſovereign, that they might be permitted to hazard the paſſage of the river. With the aſſiſtance of his wiſeſt officers, Jovian endeavoured to check their raſhneſs; by repreſenting, that if they poſſeſſed ſufficient ſkill and vigour to ſtem the torrent of a deep and rapid ſtream, they would only deliver themſelves naked and defenceleſs to the Barbarians, who had occupied the oppoſite banks. Yielding at length to their clamorous importunities, he conſented, with reluctance, that five hundred Gauls and Germans, accuſtomed from their infancy to the waters of the Rhine and Danube, ſhould attempt the bold adventure, which might ſerve either as an encouragement, or as a warning, for the reſt of the army. In the ſilence of the night, they ſwam the Tigris, ſurpriſed an unguarded poſt of the enemy, and diſplayed at the dawn of day the ſignal of their reſolution and fortune. The ſucceſs of this trial diſpoſed the emperor to liſten to the promiſes of his architects, who propoſed to conſtruct a floating bridge of the inflated ſkins of ſheep, oxen, and goats, covered with a floor of earth and faſcines[107]. Two important days were ſpent in the ineffectual labour; and the Romans, who already

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endured the miſeries of famine, caſt a look of deſpair on the Tigris, and upon the Barbarians; whoſe numbers and obſtinacy increaſed with the diſtreſs of the Imperial army [108].

Negociation and treaty of peace. July.

In this hopeleſs ſituation, the fainting ſpirits of the Romans were revived by the ſound of peace. The tranſient preſumption of Sapor had vaniſhed: he obſerved, with ſerious concern, that, in the repetition of doubtful combats, he had loſt his moſt faithful and intrepid nobles, his braveſt troops, and the greateſt part of his train of elephants: and the experienced monarch feared to provoke the reſiſtance of deſpair, the viciſſitudes of fortune, and the unexhauſted powers of the Roman empire; which might ſoon advance to relieve, or to revenge, the ſucceſſor of Julian. The Surenas himſelf, accompanied by another ſatrap, appeared in the camp of Jovian [109]; and declared, that the clemency of his ſovereign was not averſe to ſignify the conditions, on which he would conſent to ſpare and to diſmiſs the Cæſar, with the relics of his captive army. The hopes of ſafety ſubdued the firmneſs of the Romans; the emperor was compelled, by the advice of his council, and the cries of the ſoldiers, to embrace the offer of peace; and the præfect Salluſt was immediately ſent, with the general Arinthæus, to underſtand the pleaſure of the Great King. The crafty Perſian delayed, under various pretences, the concluſion of the agreement; ſtarted difficulties, required explanations, ſuggeſted expedients, receded from his conceſſions, encreaſed

his demands, and waſted four days in the arts of negociation, till he had conſumed the ſtock of proviſions which yet remained in the camp of the Romans. Had Jovian been capable of executing a bold and prudent meaſure, he would have continued his march with unremitting diligence; the progreſs of the treaty would have ſuſpended the attacks of the Barbarians; and, before the expiration of the fourth day, he might have ſafely reached the fruitful province of Corduene, at the diſtance only of one hundred miles[115]. The irreſolute emperor, inſtead of breaking through the toils of the enemy, expected his fate with patient reſignation; and accepted the humiliating conditions of peace, which it was no longer in his power to refuſe. The five provinces beyond the Tigris, which had been ceded by the grandfather of Sapor, were reſtored to the Perſian monarchy. He acquired, by a ſingle article, the impregnable city of Niſibis; which had ſuſtained, in three ſucceſſive ſieges, the effort of his arms. Singara, and the caſtle of the Moors, one of the ſtrongeſt places of Meſopotamia, were likewiſe diſmembered from the empire. It was conſidered as an indulgence, that the inhabitants of thoſe fortreſſes were permitted to retire with their effects; but the conqueror rigorouſly inſiſted, that the Romans ſhould for ever abandon the king and kingdom of Armenia. A peace, or rather a long truce, of thirty years, was ſtipulated between the hoſtile nations; the faith of the treaty was ratified by ſolemn oaths

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and religious ceremonies; and hoſtages of diſtinguiſhed rank were reciprocally delivered to ſecure the performance of the conditions[111].

The weakneſs and diſgrace of Jovian.

The ſophiſt of Antioch, who ſaw with indignation the ſceptre of his hero in the feeble hand of a Chriſtian ſucceſſor, profeſſes to admire the moderation of Sapor, in contenting himſelf with ſo ſmall a portion of the Roman empire. If he had ſtretched as far as the Euphrates the claims of his ambition, he might have been ſecure, ſays Libanius, of not meeting with a refuſal. If he had fixed, as the boundary of Perſia, the Orontes, the Cydnus, the Sangarius, or even the Thracian Boſphorus, flatterers would not have been wanting in the court of Jovian to convince the timid monarch, that his remaining provinces would ſtill afford the moſt ample gratifications of power and luxury[112]. Without adopting in its full force this malicious inſinuation, we muſt acknowledge, that the concluſion of ſo ignominious a treaty was facilitated by the private ambition of Jovian. The obſcure domeſtic, exalted to the throne by fortune, rather than by merit, was impatient to eſcape from the hands of the Perſians; that he might prevent the deſigns of Procopius, who commanded the army of Meſopotamia, and eſtabliſh his doubtful reign over the legions and provinces, which were ſtill ignorant of the haſty and tumultuous choice of the camp beyond the Tigris[113]. In the neighbourhood of the ſame river, at no very conſiderable diſtance from the fatal ſtation of Dura[114], the ten thouſand

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Greeks, without generals, or guides, or proviſions, were abandoned, above twelve hundred miles from their native country, to the reſentment of a victorious monarch. The difference of *their* conduct and ſucceſs depended much more on their character than on their ſituation. Inſtead of tamely reſigning themſelves to the ſecret deliberations and private views of a ſingle Perſon, the united councils of the Greeks were inſpired by the generous enthuſiaſm of a popular aſſembly: where the mind of each citizen is filled with the love of glory, the pride of freedom, and the contempt of death. Conſcious of their ſuperiority over the Barbarians in arms and diſcipline, they diſdained to yield, they refuſed to capitulate; every obſtacle was ſurmounted by their patience, courage, and military ſkill; and the memorable retreat of the ten thouſand expoſed and inſulted the weakneſs of the Perſian monarchy [115].

He continues his retreat to Niſibis.

As the price of his diſgraceful conceſſions, the emperor might perhaps have ſtipulated, that the camp of the hungry Romans ſhould be plentifully ſupplied [116]; and that they ſhould be permitted to paſs the Tigris on the bridge which was conſtructed by the hands of the Perſians. But, if Jovian preſumed to ſolicit thoſe equitable terms, they were ſternly refuſed by the haughty tyrant of the Eaſt; whoſe clemency had pardoned the invaders of his country. The Saracens ſometimes intercepted the ſtragglers of the march; but the generals and troops of Sapor reſpected the ceſſation of arms; and Jovian was ſuffered to explore the

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moſt convenient place for the paſſage of the river. The ſmall veſſels, which had been ſaved from the conflagration of the fleet performed the moſt eſſential ſervice. They firſt conveyed the emperor and his favourites; and afterwards tranſported in many ſucceſſive voyages, a great part of the army. But, as every man was anxious for his perſonal ſafety, and apprehenſive of being left on the hoſtile ſhore, the ſoldiers, who were too impatient to wait the ſlow returns of the boats, boldly ventured themſelves on light hurdles, or inflated ſkins; and, drawing after them their horſes, attempted, with various ſucceſs, to ſwim acroſs the river. Many of theſe daring adventurers were ſwallowed by the waves; many others, who were carried along by the violence of the ſtream, fell an eaſy prey to the avarice, or cruelty, of the wild Arabs: and the loſs which the army ſuſtained in the paſſage of the Tigris, was not inferior to the carnage of a day of battle. As ſoon as the Romans had landed on the weſtern bank, they were delivered from the hoſtile purſuit of the Barbarians; but, in a laborious march of two hundred miles over the plains of Meſopotamia, they endured the laſt extremities of thirſt and hunger. They were obliged to traverſe a ſandy deſert, which, in the extent of ſeventy miles, did not afford a ſingle blade of ſweet graſs, nor a ſingle ſpring of freſh water; and the reſt of the inhoſpitable waſte was untrod by the footſteps either of friends or enemies. Whenever a ſmall meaſure of flour could be

diſcovered in the camp, twenty pounds weight were greedily purchaſed with ten pieces of gold [117]: the beaſts of burden were ſlaughtered and devoured; and the deſert was ſtrewed with the arms and baggage of the Roman ſoldiers, whoſe tattered garments and meagre countenances diſplayed their paſt ſufferings, and actual miſery. A ſmall convoy of proviſions advanced to meet the army as far as the caſtle of Ur; and the ſupply was the more grateful, ſince it declared the fidelity of Sebaſtian and Procopius. At Thilſaphata [118], the emperor moſt graciouſly received the generals of Meſopotamia; and the remains of a once flouriſhing army at length repoſed themſelves under the walls of Niſibis. The meſſengers of Jovian had already proclaimed, in the language of flattery, his election, his treaty, and his return; and the new prince had taken the moſt effectual meaſures to ſecure the allegiance of the armies and provinces of Europe; by placing the military command in the hands of thoſe officers, who, from motives of intereſt, or inclination, would firmly ſupport the cauſe of their benefactor [119].

Univerſal clamour againſt the treaty of peace.

The friends of Julian had confidently announced the ſucceſs of his expedition. They entertained a fond perſuaſion, that the temples of the gods would be enriched with the ſpoils of the Eaſt; that Perſia would be reduced to the humble ſtate of a tributary province, governed by the laws and magiſtrates of Rome, that the Barbarians would adopt the dreſs, and manners, and language, of their conquerors; and that the

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youth of Ecbatana and Suſa would ſtudy the art of rhetoric under Grecian maſters[120]. The progreſs of the arms of Julian interrupted his communication with the empire; and, from the moment that he paſſed the Tigris, his affectionate ſubjects were ignorant of the fate and fortunes of their prince. Their contemplation of fancied triumphs was diſturbed by the melancholy rumour of his death; and they perſiſted to doubt, after they could no longer deny, the truth of that fatal event[121]. The meſſengers of Jovian promulgated the ſpecious tale of a prudent and neceſſary peace: the voice of fame, louder and more ſincere, revealed the diſgrace of the emperor, and the conditions of the ignominious treaty. The minds of the people were filled with aſtoniſhment and grief, with indignation and terror, when they were informed, that the unworthy ſucceſſor of Julian relinquiſhed the five provinces, which had been acquired by the victory of Galerius; and that he ſhamefully ſurrendered to the Barbarians the important city of Niſibis, the firmeſt bulwark of the provinces of the Eaſt[122]. The deep and dangerous queſtion, how far the public faith ſhould be obſerved, when it becomes incompatible with the public ſafety, was freely agitated in popular converſation; and ſome hopes were entertained, that the emperor would redeem his puſillanimous behaviour by a ſplendid act of patriotic perfidy. The inflexible ſpirit of the Roman ſenate had always diſclaimed the unequal conditions which were extorted from the diſtreſs

of the captive armies; and, if it were neceſſary to ſatisfy the national honour, by delivering the guilty general into the hands of the Barbarians, the greateſt part of the ſubjects of Jovian would have cheerfully acquieſced in the precedent of ancient times [123].

Jovian evacuates Niſibis, and reſtores the five provinces to the Perſians. Auguſt.

But the emperor, whatever might be the limits of his conſtitutional authority, was the abſolute maſter of the laws and arms of the ſtate; and the ſame motives which had forced him to ſubſcribe, now preſſed him to execute, the treaty of peace. He was impatient to ſecure an empire at the expence of a few provinces; and the reſpectable names of religion and honour concealed the perſonal fears and the ambition of Jovian. Notwithſtanding the dutiful ſolicitations of the inhabitants, decency, as well as prudence, forbade the emperor to lodge in the palace of Niſibis; but, the next morning after his arrival, Bineſes, the ambaſſador of Perſia, entered the place, diſplayed from the citadel the ſtandard of the Great King, and proclaimed, in his name, the cruel alternative of exile or ſervitude. The principal citizens of Niſibis, who, till that fatal moment, had confided in the protection of their ſovereign, threw themſelves at his feet. They conjured him not to abandon, or, at leaſt, not to deliver, a faithful colony to the rage of a Barbarian tyrant, exaſperated by the three ſucceſſive defeats, which he had experienced under the walls of Niſibis. They ſtill poſſeſſed arms and courage to repel the invaders of their country: they requeſted only

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the permiſſion of uſing them in their own defence; and, as ſoon as they had aſſerted their independence, they ſhould implore the favour of being again admitted into the rank of his ſubjects. Their arguments, their eloquence, their tears were ineffectual. Jovian alleged, with ſome confuſion, the ſanctity of oaths; and, as the reluctance with which he accepted the preſent of a crown of gold, convinced the citizens of their hopeleſs condition, the advocate Sylvanus was provoked to exclaim, "O Emperor! may you "thus be crowned by all the cities of your do-"minions!" Jovian, who, in a few weeks had aſſumed the habits of a prince [124], was diſpleaſed with freedom, and offended with truth: and as he reaſonably ſuppoſed, that the diſcontent of the people might incline them to ſubmit to the Perſian government, he publiſhed an edict, under pain of death, that they ſhould leave the city within the term of three days. Ammianus has delineated in lively colours the ſcene of univerſal deſpair which he ſeems to have viewed with an eye of compaſſion [125]. The martial youth deſerted, with indignant grief, the walls which they had ſo glorioufly defended: the diſconſolate mourner dropt a laſt tear over the tomb of a ſon or huſband, which muſt ſoon be profaned by the rude hand of a Barbarian maſter; and the aged citizen kiſſed the threſhold, and clung to the doors, of the houſe, where he had paſſed the cheerful and careleſs hours of infancy. The highways were crowded with a trembling multitude

multitude: the diſtinctions of rank, and ſex, and age, were loſt in the general calamity. Every one ſtrove to bear away ſome fragment from the wreck of his fortunes; and as they could not command the immediate ſervice of an adequate number of horſes or waggons, they were obliged to leave behind them the greateſt part of their valuable effects. The ſavage inſenſibility of Jovian appears to have aggravated the hardſhips of theſe unhappy fugitives. They were ſeated, however in a new-built quarter of Amida; and that riſing city, with the reinforcement of a very conſiderable colony, ſoon recovered its former ſplendour, and became the capital of Meſopotamia [126]. Similar orders were diſpatched by the emperor for the evacuation of Singara and the caſtle of the Moors; and for the reſtitution of the five provinces beyond the Tigris. Sapor enjoyed the glory and the fruits of his victory; and this ignominious peace has juſtly been conſidered as a memorable æra in the decline and fall of the Roman empire. The predeceſſors of Jovian had ſometimes relinquiſhed the dominion of diſtant and unprofitable provinces: but, ſince the foundation of the city, the genius of Rome, the god Terminus, who guarded the boundaries of the republic, had never retired before the ſword of a victorious enemy [127].

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After Jovian had performed thoſe engagements, which the voice of his people might have tempted him to violate, he haſtened away from the ſcene of his diſgrace, and proceeded with his whole court to enjoy the luxury of Antioch [128].

Reflexions on the death,

CHAP. XXIV. Without conſulting the dictates of religious zeal, he was prompted by humanity and gratitude, to beſtow the laſt honours on the remains of his deceaſed ſovereign [129]: and Procopius, who ſincerely bewailed the loſs of his kinſman, was removed from the command of the army, under the decent pretence of conducting the funeral. The corpſe of Julian was tranſported from Niſibis to Tarſus, in a ſlow march of fifteen days; and, as it paſſed through the cities of the Eaſt, was ſaluted by the hoſtile factions, with mournful lamentations and clamorous inſults. The Pagans already placed their beloved hero in the rank of thoſe gods whoſe worſhip he had reſtored; while the invectives of the Chriſtians purſued the ſoul of the apoſtate to hell, and his body to the grave [130]. One party lamented the approaching ruin of their altars; the other celebrated the marvellous deliverance of the church. The Chriſtians applauded, in lofty and ambiguous ſtrains, the ſtroke of divine vengeance, which had been ſo long ſuſpended over the guilty head of Julian. They acknowledged, that the death of the tyrant, at the inſtant he expired beyond the Tigris, was *revealed* to the ſaints of Egypt, Syria, and Cappadocia [131]; and, inſtead of ſuffering him to fall by the Perſian darts, their indiſcretion aſcribed the heroic deed to the obſcure hand of ſome mortal or immortal champion of the faith [132]. Such imprudent declarations were eagerly adopted by the malice, or credulity, of their adverſaries [133]; who darkly inſinuated,

or confidently aſſerted, that the governors of the church had inſtigated and directed the fanaticiſm of a domeſtic aſſaſſin [114]. Above ſixteen years after the death of Julian, the charge was ſolemnly and vehemently urged, in a public oration, addreſſed by Libanius to the emperor Theodoſius. His ſuſpicions are unſupported by fact or argument; and we can only eſteem the generous zeal of the ſophiſt of Antioch, for the cold and neglected aſhes of his friend [115].

and funeral of Julian.

It was an ancient cuſtom in the funerals, as well as in the triumphs, of the Romans, that the voice of praiſe ſhould be corrected by that of ſatire and ridicule; and that, in the midſt of the ſplendid pageants, which diſplayed the glory of the living or of the dead, their imperfections ſhould not be concealed from the eyes of the world [116]. This cuſtom was practiſed in the funeral of Julian. The comedians, who reſented his contempt and averſion for the theatre, exhibited with the applauſe of a Chriſtian audience, the lively and exaggerated repreſentation of the faults and follies of the deceaſed emperor. His various character and ſingular manners afforded an ample ſcope for pleaſantry and ridicule [117]. In the exerciſe of his uncommon talents, he often deſcended below the majeſty of his rank. Alexander was transformed into Diogenes; the philoſopher was degraded into a prieſt. The purity of his virtue was ſullied by exceſſive vanity; his ſuperſtition diſturbed the peace, and endangered the ſafety, of a mighty empire; and his irregular ſallies were

CHAP. XXIV. the leſs intitled to indulgence, as they appeared to be the laborious efforts of art, or even of affectation. The remains of Julian were interred at Tarſus in Cilicia; but his ſtately tomb, which aroſe in that city, on the banks of the cold and limpid Cydnus [138], was diſpleaſing to the faithful friends, who loved and revered the memory of that extraordinary man. The philoſopher expreſſed a very reaſonable wiſh, that the diſciple of Plato might have repoſed amidſt the groves of the academy [139]: while the ſoldier exclaimed in bolder accents, that the aſhes of Julian ſhould have been mingled with thoſe of Cæſar, in the field of Mars, and among the ancient monuments of Roman virtue [140]. The hiſtory of princes does not very frequently renew the example of a ſimilar competition.

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The Government and Death of Jovian. — Election of Valentinian, who aſſociates his Brother Valens, and makes the final Diviſion of the Eaſtern and Weſtern Empires. — Revolt of Procopius. — Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Adminiſtration. — Germany. — Britain. — Africa. — The Eaſt. — The Danube. — Death of Valentinian. — His two Sons, Gratian and Valentinian II, ſucceed to the Weſtern Empire.

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State of the church, A. D. 363.

THE death of Julian had left the public affairs of the empire in a very doubtful and dangerous ſituation. The Roman army was ſaved by an inglorious, perhaps a neceſſary, treaty [1]; and the firſt moments of peace were conſecrated by the pious Jovian to reſtore the domeſtic tranquillity of the church and ſtate. The indiſcretion of his predeceſſor, inſtead of reconciling, had artfully fomented the religious war: and the balance which he affected to preſerve between the hoſtile factions, ſerved only to perpetuate the conteſt, by the viciſſitudes of hope and fear, by the rival claims of ancient poſſeſſion and actual favour. The Chriſtians had forgotten the ſpirit of the Goſpel; and the Pagans had imbibed the ſpirit of the church. In private families, the ſentiments of nature were extinguiſhed by the blind fury of zeal and revenge: the majeſty of the laws was violated or abuſed, the cities of the Eaſt were

CHAP. XXV. ſtained with blood; and the moſt implacable enemies of the Romans were in the boſom of their country. Jovian was educated in the profeſſion of Chriſtianity; and as he marched from Niſibis to Antioch, the banner of the Croſs, the LABARUM of Conſtantine, which was again diſplayed at the head of the legions, announced to the people the faith of their new emperor. As ſoon as he aſcended the throne, he tranſmitted a circular epiſtle to all the governors of provinces: in which he confeſſed the divine truth, and ſecured the legal eſtabliſhment, of the Chriſtian religion. The inſidious edicts of Julian were aboliſhed; the eccleſiaſtical immunities were reſtored and enlarged; and Jovian condeſcended to lament, that the diſtreſs of the times obliged him to diminiſh the meaſure of charitable diſtributions [2]. The Chriſtians were unanimous in the loud and ſincere applauſe which they beſtowed on the pious ſucceſſor of Julian. But they were ſtill ignorant, what creed, or what ſynod, he would chooſe for the ſtandard of orthodoxy; and the peace of the church immediately revived thoſe eager diſputes which had been ſuſpended during the ſeaſon of perſecution. The epiſcopal leaders of the contending ſects, convinced, from experience, how much their fate would depend on the earlieſt impreſſions that were made on the mind of an untutored ſoldier, haſtened to the court of Edeſſa, or Antioch. The highways of the Eaſt were crowded with Homoouſian, and Arian, and Semi-Arian, and Eunomian biſhops,

who ſtruggled to outſtrip each other in the holy race: the apartments of the palace reſounded with their clamours; and the ears of the prince were aſſaulted, and perhaps aſtoniſhed, by the ſingular mixture of metaphyſical argument and paſſionate invective [3]. The moderation of Jovian, who recommended concord and charity, and referred the diſputants to the ſentence of a future council, was interpreted as a ſympton of indifference: but his attachment to the Nicene creed was at length diſcovered and declared, by the reverence which he expreſſed for the *celeſtial* [4] virtues of the great Athanaſius. The intrepid veteran of the faith, at the age of ſeventy, had iſſued from his retreat on the firſt intelligence of the tyrant's death. The acclamations of the people ſeated him once more on the archiepiſcopal throne; and he wiſely accepted, or anticipated, the invitation of Jovian. The venerable figure of Athanaſius, his calm courage, and inſinuating eloquence, ſuſtained the reputation which he had already acquired in the courts of four ſucceſſive princes [5]. As ſoon as he had gained the confidence, and ſecured the faith, of the Chriſtian emperor, he returned in triumph to his dioceſe, and continued, with mature counſels, and undiminiſhed vigour, to direct, ten years longer [6], the eccleſiaſtical government of Alexandria, Egypt, and the Catholic church. Before his departure from Antioch, he aſſured Jovian that his orthodox devotion would be rewarded with a long and peaceful reign. Athanaſius

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had reaſon to hope, that he ſhould be allowed either the merit of a ſucceſsful prediction, or the excuſe of a grateful, though ineffectual, prayer [7].

Jovian proclaims univerſal toleration.

The ſlighteſt force, when it is applied to aſſiſt and guide the natural deſcent of its object, operates with irreſiſtible weight; and Jovian had the good fortune to embrace the religious opinions which were ſupported by the ſpirit of the times, and the zeal and numbers of the moſt powerful ſect [8]. Under his reign, Chriſtianity obtained an eaſy and laſting victory; and as ſoon as the ſmile of royal patronage was withdrawn, the genius of paganiſm, which had been fondly raiſed and cheriſhed by the arts of Julian, ſunk irrecoverably in the duſt. In many cities, the temples were ſhut or deſerted; the philoſophers, who had abuſed their tranſient favour, thought it prudent to ſhave their beards, and diſguiſe their profeſſion; and the Chriſtians rejoiced, that they were now in a condition to forgive, or to revenge, the injuries which they had ſuffered under the preceding reign [9]. The conſternation of the Pagan world was diſpelled by a wiſe and gracious edict of toleration; in which Jovian explicitly declared, that although he ſhould ſeverely puniſh the ſacrilegious rites of magic, his ſubjects might exerciſe, with freedom and ſafety, the ceremonies of the ancient worſhip. The memory of this law has been preſerved by the orator Themiſtius, who was deputed by the ſenate of Conſtantinople to expreſs their loyal devotion for the new emperor. Themiſtius expatiates on the clemency of

the Divine Nature, the facility of human error the rights of conſcience, and the independence of the mind; and, with ſome eloquence, inculcates the principles of philoſophical toleration; whoſe aid Superſtition herſelf, in the hour of her diſtreſs; is not aſhamed to implore. He juſtly obſerves, that, in the recent changes, both religions had been alternately diſgraced by the ſeeming acquiſition of worthleſs proſelytes, of thoſe votaries of the reigning purple, who could paſs, without a reaſon, and without a bluſh, from the church to the temple, and from the altars of Jupiter to the ſacred table of the Chriſtians [10].

His progreſs from Antioch, A. D. 363. October.

In the ſpace of ſeven months, the Roman troops, who were now returned to Antioch, had performed a march of fifteen hundred miles; in which they had endured all the hardſhips of war, of famine, and of climate. Notwithſtanding their ſervices, their fatigues, and the approach of winter, the timid and impatient Jovian allowed only, to the men and horſes, a reſpite of ſix weeks. The emperor could not ſuſtain the indiſcreet and malicious raillery of the people of Antioch [11]. He was impatient to poſſeſs the palace of Conſtantinople; and to prevent the ambition of ſome competitor, who might occupy the vacant allegiance of Europe. But he ſoon received the grateful intelligence, that his authority was acknowledged from the Thracian Boſphorus to the Atlantic ocean. By the firſt letters which he diſpatched from the camp of Meſopotamia, he had delegated the military

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command of Gaul and Illyricum to Malarich, a brave and faithful officer of the nation of the Franks; and to his father-in-law, count Lucillian, who had formerly diſtinguiſhed his courage and conduct in the defence of Niſibis. Malarich had declined an office to which he thought himſelf unequal; and Lucillian was maſſacred at Rheims, in an accidental mutiny of the Batavian cohorts [12]. But the moderation of Jovinus, maſter-general of the cavalry, who forgave the intention of his diſgrace, ſoon appeaſed the tumult, and confirmed the uncertain minds of the ſoldiers. The oath of fidelity was adminiſtered, and taken, with loyal acclamations; and the deputies of the Weſtern armies [13] ſaluted their new ſovereign as he deſcended from Mount Taurus to the city of Tyana, in Cappadocia. From Tyana he continued his haſty march to Ancyra, capital of the province of Galatia; where Jovian aſſumed, with his infant ſon, the name and enſigns of the conſulſhip [14]. Dadaſtana [15], an obſcure town, almoſt at an equal diſtance between Ancyra and Nice, was marked for the fatal term of his journey and his life. After indulging himſelf with a plentiful, perhaps an intemperate ſupper, he retired to reſt; and the next morning the emperor Jovian was found dead in his bed. The cauſe of this ſudden death was variouſly underſtood. By ſome it was aſcribed to the conſequences of an indigeſtion, occaſioned either by the quantity of the wine, or the quality of the muſhrooms, which he had ſwallowed in the

A. D. 364. January 1.

Death of Jovian. Feb. 17.

evening. According to others, he was ſuffocated in his ſleep by the vapour of charcoal; which extracted from the walls of the apartment the unwholeſome moiſture of the freſh plaiſter [16]. But the want of a regular enquiry into the death of a prince, whoſe reign and perſon were ſoon forgotten, appears to have been the only circumſtance which countenanced the malicious whiſpers of poiſon and domeſtic guilt [17]. The body of Jovian was ſent to Conſtantinople, to be interred with his predeceſſors; and the ſad proceſſion was met on the road by his wife Charito, the daughter of count Lucillian; who ſtill wept the recent death of her father, and was haſtening to dry her tears in the embraces of an Imperial huſband. Her diſappointment and grief were embittered by the anxiety of maternal tenderneſs. Six weeks before the death of Jovian, his infant ſon had been placed in the curule chair, adorned with the title of *Nobiliſſimus*, and the vain enſigns of the conſulſhip. Unconſcious of his fortune, the royal youth, who, from his grandfather, aſſumed the name of Varronian, was reminded only by the jealouſy of the government, that he was the ſon of an emperor. Sixteen years afterwards he was ſtill alive, but he had already been deprived of an eye; and his afflicted mother expected, every hour, that the innocent victim would be torn from her arms, to appeaſe, with his blood, the ſuſpicions of the reigning prince [18].

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After the death of Jovian, the throne of the Roman world remained ten days [19] without a

Vacancy of the throne Feb. 17 — 26.

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maſter. The miniſters and generals ſtill continued to meet in council; to exerciſe their reſpective functions; to maintain the public order; and peaceably to conduct the army to the city of Nice, in Bithynia, which was choſen for the place of the election [20]. In a ſolemn aſſembly of the civil and military powers of the empire, the diadem was again unanimouſly offered to the præfect Salluſt. He enjoyed the glory of a ſecond refuſal; and when the virtues of the father were alleged in favour of his ſon, the præfect, with the firmneſs of a diſintereſted patriot; declared to the electors, that the feeble age of the one, and the unexperienced youth of the other, were equally incapable of the laborious duties of government. Several candidates were propoſed: and, after weighing the objections of character or ſituation, they were ſucceſſively rejected: but, as ſoon as the name of Valentinian was pronounced, the merit of that officer united the ſuffrages of the whole aſſembly, and obtained the ſincere approbation of Salluſt himſelf. Valentinian [21] was the ſon of count Gratian, a native of Cibalis, in Pannonia, who, from an obſcure condition, had raiſed himſelf, by matchleſs ſtrength and dexterity, to the military commands of Africa and Britain; from which he retired, with an ample fortune and ſuſpicious integrity. The rank and ſervices of Gratian contributed, however, to ſmooth the firſt ſteps of the promotion of his ſon; and afforded him an early opportunity of diſplaying thoſe ſolid and uſeful qualifications,

Election and character of Valentinian.

which raiſed his character above the ordinary level of his fellow-ſoldiers. The perſon of Valentinian was tall, graceful, and majeſtic. His manly countenance, deeply marked with the impreſſion of ſenſe and ſpirit, inſpired his friends with awe, and his enemies with fear: and, to ſecond the efforts of his undaunted courage, the ſon of Gratian had inherited the advantages of a ſtrong and healthy conſtitution. By the habits of chaſtity and temperance, which reſtrain the appetites, and invigorate the faculties, Valentinian preſerved his own, and the public, eſteem. The avocations of a military life had diverted his youth from the elegant purſuits of literature; he was ignorant of the Greek language, and the arts of rhetoric; but as the mind of the orator was never diſconcerted by timid perplexity, he was able, as often as the occaſion prompted him, to deliver his decided ſentiments with bold and ready elocution. The laws of martial diſcipline were the only laws that he had ſtudied; and he was ſoon diſtinguiſhed by the laborious diligence, and inflexible ſeverity, with which he diſcharged and inforced the duties of the camp. In the time of Julian he provoked the danger of diſgrace, by the contempt which he publicly expreſſed for the reigning religion [22]; and it ſhould ſeem, from his ſubſequent conduct, that the indiſcreet and unſeaſonable freedom of Valentinian was the effect of military ſpirit, rather than of Chriſtian zeal. He was pardoned, however, and ſtill employed by a prince who eſteemed his

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merit [23]: and in the various events of the Perſian war, he improved the reputation which he had already acquired on the banks of the Rhine. The celerity and ſucceſs with which he executed an important commiſſion, recommended him to the favour of Jovian; and to the honourable command of the ſecond *ſchool*, or company, of Targetteers, of the domeſtic guards. In the march from Antioch, he had reached his quarters at Ancyra, when he was unexpectedly ſummoned, without guilt, and without intrigue, to aſſume, in the forty-third year of his age, the abſolute government of the Roman empire.

He is acknowledged by the army, A. D. 364. Feb. 26.

The invitation of the miniſters and generals at Nice was of little moment, unleſs it were confirmed by the voice of the army. The aged Salluſt, who had long obſerved the irregular fluctuations of popular aſſemblies, propoſed, under pain of death, that none of thoſe perſons, whoſe rank in the ſervice might excite a party in their favour, ſhould appear in public, on the day of the inauguration. Yet ſuch was the prevalence of ancient ſuperſtition, that a whole day was voluntarily added to this dangerous interval, becauſe it happened to be the intercalation of the Biſſextile [24]. At length, when the hour was ſuppoſed to be propitious, Valentinian ſhewed himſelf from a lofty tribunal: the judicious choice was applauded; and the new prince was ſolemnly inveſted with the diadem and the purple, amidſt the acclamations of the troops, who were diſpoſed in martial order round the tribunal.

But when he ſtretched forth his hand to addreſs the armed multitude, a buſy whiſper was accidentally ſtarted in the ranks, and inſenſibly ſwelled into a loud and imperious clamour, that he ſhould name, without delay, a colleague in the empire. The intrepid calmneſs of Valentinian obtained ſilence, and commanded reſpect: and he thus addreſſed the aſſembly; "A few minutes ſince, it was in *your* power, fellow-ſoldiers, to have left me in the obſcurity of a private ſtation. Judging, from the teſtimony of my paſt life, that I deſerved to reign, you have placed me on the throne. It is now *my* duty to conſult the ſafety and intereſt of the republic. The weight of the univerſe is undoubtedly too great for the hands of a feeble mortal. I am conſcious of the limits of my abilities, and the uncertainty of my life: and far from declining, I am anxious to ſolicit, the aſſiſtance of a worthy colleague. But, where diſcord may be fatal, the choice of a faithful friend requires mature and ſerious deliberation. That deliberation ſhall be *my* care. Let *your* conduct be dutiful and conſiſtent. Retire to your quarters; refreſh your minds and bodies; and expect the accuſtomed donative on the acceſſion of a new emperor [25]." The aſtoniſhed troops, with a mixture of pride, of ſatisfaction, and of terror, confeſſed the voice of their maſter. Their angry clamours ſubſided into ſilent reverence; and Valentinian, encompaſſed with the eagles of the legions, and the various

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banners of the cavalry and infantry, was conducted, in warlike pomp, to the palace of Nice. As he was ſenſible, however; of the importance of preventing ſome raſh declaration of the ſoldiers, he conſulted the aſſembly of the chiefs: and their real ſentiments were conciſely expreſſed by the generous freedom of Dagalaiphus. "Moſt excellent prince," ſaid that officer, "if you conſider "only your family, you have a brother; if you "love the republic, look round for the moſt "deſerving of the Romans [26]." The emperor, who ſuppreſſed his diſpleaſure, without altering his intention, ſlowly proceeded from Nice to Nicomedia and Conſtantinople. In one of the ſuburbs of that capital [27], thirty days after his own elevation, he beſtowed the title of Auguſtus on his brother Valens; and as the boldeſt patriots were convinced, that their oppoſition, without being ſerviceable to their country, would be fatal to themſelves, the declaration of his abſolute will was received with ſilent ſubmiſſion. Valens was now in the thirty-ſixth year of his age; but his abilities had never been exerciſed in any employment, military or civil; and his character had not inſpired the world with any ſanguine expectations. He poſſeſſed, however, one quality, which recommended him to Valentinian, and preſerved the domeſtic peace of the empire; a devout and grateful attachment to his benefactor, whoſe ſuperiority of genius, as well as of authority, Valens humbly and cheerfully acknowledged in every action of his life [28].

and aſſociates his brother Valens, A. D. 364. March 28.

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The final diviſion of the eaſtern and weſtern empires. A. D. 364. June.

Before Valentinian divided the provinces, he reformed the adminiſtration of the empire. All ranks of ſubjects, who had been injured or oppreſſed under the reign of Julian, were invited to ſupport their public accuſations. The ſilence of mankind atteſted the ſpotleſs integrity of the præfect Salluſt [29]; and his own preſſing ſolicitations, that he might be permitted to retire from the buſineſs of the ſtate, were rejected by Valentinian with the moſt honourable expreſſions of friendſhip and eſteem. But among the favourites of the late emperor, there were many who had abuſed his credulity or ſuperſtition; and who could no longer hope to be protected either by favour or juſtice [30]. The greater part of the miniſters of the palace, and the governors of the provinces, were removed from their reſpective ſtations; yet the eminent merit of ſome officers was diſtinguiſhed from the obnoxious crowd; and, notwithſtanding the oppoſite clamours of zeal and reſentment, the whole proceedings of this delicate enquiry appear to have been conducted with a reaſonable ſhare of wiſdom and moderation [31]. The feſtivity of a new reign received a ſhort and ſuſpicious interruption, from the ſudden illneſs of the two princes: but as ſoon as their health was reſtored, they left Conſtantinople in the beginning of the ſpring. In the caſtle or palace of Medina, only three miles from Naiſſus, they executed the ſolemn and final diviſion of the Roman empire [32]. Valentinian beſtowed on his brother the rich præfecture of the *Eaſt*, from the

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Lower Danube to the confines of Perſia; whilſt he reſerved for his immediate government the warlike præfectures of *Illyricum*, *Italy*, and *Gaul*, from the extremity of Greece to the Caledonian rampart; and from the rampart of Caledonia, to the foot of Mount Atlas The provincial adminiſtration remained on its former baſis; but a double ſupply of generals and magiſtrates was required for two councils, and two courts: the diviſion was made with a juſt regard to their peculiar merit and ſituation, and ſeven maſter-generals were ſoon created, either of the cavalry or infantry. When this important buſineſs had been amicably tranſacted, Valentinian and Valens embraced for the laſt time. The emperor of the Weſt eſtabliſhed his temporary reſidence at Milan; and the emperor of the Eaſt returned to Conſtantinople, to aſſume the dominion of fifty provinces, of whoſe language he was totally ignorant [33].

Revolt of Procopius, A. D. 365. Sept. 28.

The tranquillity of the Eaſt was ſoon diſturbed by rebellion; and the throne of Valens was threatened by the daring attempts of a rival, whoſe affinity to the emperor Julian [34] was his ſole merit, and had been his only crime. Procopius had been haſtily promoted from the obſcure ſtation of a tribune, and a notary, to the joint command of the army of Meſopotamia; the public opinion already named him as the ſucceſſor of a prince who was deſtitute of natural heirs; and a vain rumour was propagated by his friends, or his enemies, that Julian, before the altar of the Moon, at Carrhæ, had privately inveſted Procopius with

the Imperial purple [11]. He endeavoured, by his dutiful and ſubmiſſive behaviour, to diſarm the jealouſy of Jovian; reſigned, without a conteſt, his military command; and retired, with his wife and family, to cultivate the ample patrimony which he poſſeſſed in the province of Cappadocia. Theſe uſeful and innocent occupations were interrupted by the appearance of an officer, with a band of ſoldiers, who, in the name of his new ſovereigns, Valentinian and Valens, was diſpatched to conduct the unfortunate Procopius, either to a perpetual priſon, or an ignominious death. His preſence of mind procured him a longer reſpite, and a more ſplendid fate. Without preſuming to diſpute the royal mandate, he requeſted the indulgence of a few moments, to embrace his weeping family; and while the vigilance of his guards was relaxed by a plentiful entertainment, he dexterouſly eſcaped to the ſea-coaſt of the Euxine, from whence he paſſed over to the country of Boſphorus. In that ſequeſtered region he remained many months, expoſed to the hardſhips of exile, of ſolitude, and of want; his melancholy temper brooding over his misfortunes, and his mind agitated by the juſt apprehenſion, that, if any accident ſhould diſcover his name, the faithleſs Barbarians would violate, without much ſcruple, the laws of hoſpitality. In a moment of impatience and deſpair, Procopius embarked in a merchant veſſel, which made ſail for Conſtantinople; and boldly aſpired to the rank of a ſovereign, becauſe he was not allowed

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to enjoy the ſecurity of a ſubject. At firſt he lurked in the villages of Bithynia, continually changing his habitation, and his diſguiſe [36]. By degrees he ventured into the capital, truſted his life and fortune to the fidelity of two friends, a ſenator and an eunuch, and conceived ſome hopes of ſucceſs, from the intelligence which he obtained of the actual ſtate of public affairs. The body of the people was infected with a ſpirit of diſcontent: they regretted the juſtice and the abilities of Salluſt, who had been imprudently diſmiſſed from the præfecture of the Eaſt. They deſpiſed the character of Valens, which was rude without vigour, and feeble without mildneſs. They dreaded the influence of his father-in-law, the Patrician Petronius, a cruel and rapacious miniſter, who rigorouſly exacted all the arrears of tribute, that might remain unpaid ſince the reign of the emperor Aurelian. The circumſtances were propitious to the deſigns of an uſurper. The hoſtile meaſures of the Perſians required the preſence of Valens in Syria: from the Danube to the Euphrates the troops were in motion; and the capital was occaſionally filled with the ſoldiers who paſſed, or repaſſed, the Thracian Boſphorus. Two cohorts of Gauls were perſuaded to liſten to the ſecret propoſals of the conſpirators; which were recommended by the promiſe of a liberal donative; and, as they ſtill revered the memory of Julian, they eaſily conſented to ſupport the hereditary claim of his proſcribed kinſman. At the dawn of day they were drawn

up near the baths of Anaſtaſia; and Procopius, clothed in a purple garment, more ſuitable to a player than to a monarch, appeared, as if he roſe from the dead, in the midſt of Conſtantinople. The ſoldiers, who were prepared for his reception, ſaluted their trembling prince with ſhouts of joy, and vows of fidelity. Their numbers were ſoon increaſed by a ſturdy band of peaſants, collected from the adjacent country; and Procopius, ſhielded by the arms of his adherents, was ſucceſſively conducted to the tribunal, the ſenate, and the palace. During the firſt moments of his tumultuous reign, he was aſtoniſhed and terrified by the gloomy ſilence of the people; who were either ignorant of the cauſe, or apprehenſive of the event. But his military ſtrength was ſuperior to any actual reſiſtance: the malecontents flocked to the ſtandard of rebellion; the poor were excited by the hopes, and the rich were intimidated by the fear, of a general pillage; and the obſtinate credulity of the multitude was once more deceived by the promiſed advantages of a revolution. The magiſtrates were ſeized; the priſons and arſenals broke open; the gates, and the entrance of the harbour, were diligently occupied; and, in a few hours, Procopius became the abſolute, though precarious, maſter of the Imperial city. The uſurper improved this unexpected ſucceſs with ſome degree of courage and dexterity. He artfully propagated the rumours and opinions the moſt favourable to his intereſt; while he deluded the populace by giving audience to the

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frequent, but imaginary, ambaſſadors of diſtant nations. The large bodies of troops ſtationed in the cities of Thrace, and the fortreſſes of the Lower Danube, were gradually involved in the guilt of rebellion: and the Gothic princes conſented to ſupply the ſovereign of Conſtantinople with the formidable ſtrength of ſeveral thouſand auxiliaries His generals paſſed the Boſphorus, and ſubdued, without an effort, the unarmed, but wealthy, provinces of Bithynia and Aſia. After an honourable defence, the city and iſland of Cyzicus yielded to his power; the renowned legions of the Jovians and Herculians embraced the cauſe of the uſurper, whom they were ordered to cruſh; and, as the veterans were continually augmented with new levies, he ſoon appeared at the head of an army, whoſe valour, as well as numbers, were not unequal to the greatneſs of the conteſt. The ſon of Hormiſdas [37], a youth of ſpirit and ability, condeſcended to draw his ſword againſt the lawful emperor of the Eaſt; and the Perſian prince was immediately inveſted with the ancient and extraordinary powers of a Roman Proconſul. The alliance of Fauſtina, the widow of the emperor Conſtantius, who entruſted herſelf, and her daughter, to the hands of the uſurper, added dignity and reputation to his cauſe. The princeſs Conſtantia, who was then about five years of age accompanied, in a litter, the march of the army. She was ſhewn to the multitude in the arms of her adopted father; and, as often as ſhe paſſed through the ranks,

the tenderneſs of the ſoldiers was inflamed into martial fury [18]: they recollected the glories of the houſe of Conſtantine, and they declared, with loyal acclamation, that they would ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in the defence of the royal infant [19]. CHAP. XXV.

His defeat and death. A. D. 366. May 28.

In the mean while, Valentinian was alarmed and perplexed, by the doubtful intelligence of the revolt of the Eaſt. The difficulties of a German war forced him to confine his immediate care to the ſafety of his own dominions; and, as every channel of communication was ſtopt or corrupted, he liſtened, with a doubtful anxiety, to the rumours which were induſtriouſly ſpread; that the defeat and death of Valens had left Procopius ſole maſter of the eaſtern provinces. Valens was not dead: but, on the news of the rebellion, which he received at Cæſarea, he baſely deſpaired of his life and fortune; propoſed to negociate with the uſurper, and diſcovered his ſecret inclination to abdicate the Imperial purple. The timid monarch was ſaved from diſgrace and ruin by the firmneſs of his miniſters, and their abilities ſoon decided in his favour the event of the civil war. In a ſeaſon of tranquillity, Salluſt had reſigned without a murmur, but as ſoon as the public ſafety was attacked, he ambitiouſly ſolicited the pre-eminence of toil and danger; and the reſtoration of that virtuous miniſter to the præfecture of the Eaſt, was the firſt ſtep which indicated the repentance of Valens, and ſatisfied the minds of the people. The reign of Procopius

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was apparently ſupported by powerful armies, and obedient provinces. But many of the principal officers military as well as civil, had been urged, either by motives of duty or intereſt, to withdraw themſelves from the guilty ſcene; or to watch the moment of betraying, and deſerting, the cauſe of the uſurper. Lupicinus advanced by haſty marches, to bring the legions of Syria to the aid of Valens. Arinthæus, who, in ſtrength, beauty, and valour, excelled all the heroes of the age, attacked with a ſmall troop a ſuperior body of the rebels. When he beheld the faces of the ſoldiers who had ſerved under his banner, he commanded them, with a loud voice, to ſeize and deliver up their pretended leader, and ſuch was the aſcendant of his genius, that this extraordinary order was inſtantly obeyed [40]. Arbetio, a reſpectable veteran of the great Conſtantine, who had been diſtinguiſhed by the honours of the conſulſhip, was perſuaded to leave his retirement, and once more to conduct an army into the field. In the heat of action, calmly taking off his helmet, he ſhewed his grey hairs, and venerable countenance; ſaluted the ſoldiers of Procopius by the endearing names of children and companions, and exhorted them, no longer to ſupport the deſperate cauſe of a contemptible tyrant; but to follow their old commander, who had ſo often led them to honour and victory. In the two engagements of Thyatira [41] and Nacoſia, the unfortunate Procopius was deſerted by his troops, who were ſeduced by the inſtruction and example of their perfidious

officers. After wandering ſome time among the woods and mountains of Phrygia, he was betrayed by his deſponding followers, conducted to the Imperial camp, and immediately beheaded. He ſuffered the ordinary fate of an unſucceſsful uſurper; but the acts of cruelty which were exerciſed by the conqueror, under the forms of legal juſtice, excited the pity and indignation of mankind [42].

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Severe inquiſition into the crime of magic at Rome and Antioch, A. D. 373. &c.

Such indeed are the common and natural fruits of deſpotiſm and rebellion. But the inquiſition into the crime of magic, which, under the reign of the two brothers, was ſo rigorouſly proſecuted both at Rome and Antioch, was interpreted as the fatal ſymptom, either of the diſpleaſure of heaven, or of the depravity of mankind [43]. Let us not heſitate to indulge a liberal pride, that, in the preſent age, the enlightened part of Europe has aboliſhed [44] a cruel and odious prejudice, which reigned in every climate of the globe, and adhered to every ſyſtem of religious opinions [45]. The nations, and the ſects, of the Roman world, admitted with equal credulity, and ſimilar abhorrence, the reality of that infernal art [46], which was able to controul the eternal order of the planets, and the voluntary operations of the human mind. They dreaded the myſterious power of ſpells and incantations, of potent herbs, and execrable rites; which could extinguiſh or recall life, inflame the paſſions of the ſoul, blaſt the works of creation, and extort from the reluctant dæmons the ſecrets of futurity.

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They believed, with the wildeſt inconſiſtency, that this præternatural dominion of the air, of earth, and of hell, was exerciſed, from the vileſt motives of malice or gain, by ſome wrinkled hags, and itinerant ſorcerers, who paſſed their obſcure lives in penury and contempt [47]. The arts of magic were equally condemned by the public opinion, and by the laws of Rome; but as they tended to gratify the moſt imperious paſſions of the heart of man, they were continually proſcribed, and continually practiſed [48]. An imaginary cauſe is capable of producing the moſt ſerious and miſchievous effects. The dark predictions of the death of an emperor, or the ſucceſs of a conſpiracy, were calculated only to ſtimulate the hopes of ambition, and to diſſolve the ties of fidelity; and the intentional guilt of magic was aggravated by the actual crimes of treaſon and ſacrilege [49]. Such vain terrors diſturbed the peace of ſociety, and the happineſs of individuals; and the harmleſs flame which inſenſibly melted a waxen image, might derive a powerful and pernicious energy from the affrighted fancy of the perſon whom it was maliciouſly deſigned to repreſent [50]. From the infuſion of thoſe herbs, which were ſuppoſed to poſſeſs a ſupernatural influence, it was an eaſy ſtep to the uſe of more ſubſtantial poiſon; and the folly of mankind ſometimes became the inſtrument, and the maſk, of the moſt atrocious crimes. As ſoon as the zeal of informers was encouraged by the miniſters of Valens and Valentinian, they could not refuſe to

liſten to another charge, too frequently mingled in the ſcenes of domeſtic guilt; a charge of a ſofter and leſs malignant nature, for which the pious, though exceſſive, rigour of Conſtantine had recently decreed the puniſhment of death [11]. This deadly and incoherent mixture of treaſon and magic, of poiſon and adultery, afforded infinite gradations of guilt and innocence, of excuſe and aggravation, which in theſe proceedings appear to have been confounded by the angry or corrupt paſſions of the judges. They eaſily diſcovered, that the degree of their induſtry and diſcernment was eſtimated, by the Imperial court, according to the number of executions that were furniſhed from their reſpective tribunals. It was not without extreme reluctance that they pronounced a ſentence of acquittal; but they eagerly admitted ſuch evidence as was ſtained with perjury, or procured by torture, to prove the moſt improbable charges againſt the moſt reſpectable characters. The progreſs of the inquiry continually opened new ſubjects of criminal proſecution: the audacious informer, whoſe falſehood was detected, retired with impunity; but the wretched victim, who diſcovered his real, or pretended, accomplices, was ſeldom permitted to receive the price of his infamy. From the extremity of Italy and Aſia, the young, and the aged, were dragged in chains to the tribunals of Rome and Antioch. Senators, matrons, and philoſophers, expired in ignominious and cruel tortures. The ſoldiers, who were appointed to guard the priſons, declared, with a murmur of

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pity and indignation, that their numbers were insufficient to oppose the flight, or resistance, of the multitude of captives. The wealthiest families were ruined by fines and confiscations; the most innocent citizens trembled for their safety; and we may form some notion of the magnitude of the evil, from the extravagant assertion of an ancient writer, that, in the obnoxious provinces, the prisoners, the exiles, and the fugitives, formed the greatest part of the inhabitants [11].

The cruelty of Valentinian and Valens. A. D. 364-375.

When Tacitus describes the deaths of the innocent and illustrious Romans, who were sacrificed to the cruelty of the first Cæsars, the art of the historian, or the merit of the sufferers, excite in our breasts the most lively sensations of terror, of admiration, and of pity. The coarse and undistinguishing pencil of Ammianus has delineated his bloody figures with tedious and disgusting accuracy. But as our attention is no longer engaged by the contrast of freedom and servitude, of recent greatness and of actual misery, we should turn with horror from the frequent executions, which disgraced, both at Rome and Antioch, the reign of the two brothers [12]. Valens was of a timid [13]; and Valentinian of a choleric, disposition [14]. An anxious regard to his personal safety was the ruling principle of the administration of Valens. In the condition of a subject, he had kissed, with trembling awe, the hand of the oppressor: and when he ascended the throne, he reasonably expected, that the same fears, which had subdued his own mind, would secure the

patient ſubmiſſion of his people. The favourites of Valens obtained, by the privilege of rapine and confiſcation, the wealth which his œconomy would have refuſed ". They urged, with perſuaſive eloquence, *that*, in all caſes of treaſon, ſuſpicion is equivalent to proof; *that* the power, ſuppoſes the intention, of miſchief; *that* the intention is not leſs criminal than the act; and *that* a ſubject, no longer deſerves to live, if his life may threaten the ſafety, or diſturb the repoſe, of his ſovereign. The judgment of Valentinian was ſometimes deceived, and his confidence abuſed; but he would have ſilenced the informers with a contemptuous ſmile, had they preſumed to alarm his fortitude by the ſound of danger. They praiſed his inflexible love of juſtice; and in the purſuit of juſtice, the emperor was eaſily tempted to conſider clemency as a weakneſs, and paſſion as a virtue. As long as he wreſtled with his equals, in the bold competition of an active and ambitious life, Valentinian was ſeldom injured, and never inſulted, with impunity; if his prudence was arraigned, his ſpirit was applauded; and the proudeſt and moſt powerful generals were apprehenſive of provoking the reſentment of a fearleſs ſoldier. After he became maſter of the world, he unfortunately forgot, that where no reſiſtance can be made, no courage can be exerted; and inſtead of conſulting the dictates of reaſon and magnanimity, he indulged the furious emotions of his temper, at a time when they were diſgraceful to himſelf, and fatal to the defenceleſs objects of his

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diſpleaſure. In the government of his houſehold, or of his empire, ſlight, or even imaginary, offences, a haſty word, a caſual omiſſion, an involuntary delay, were chaſtiſed by a ſentence of immediate death. The expreſſions which iſſued the moſt readily from the mouth of the emperor of the Weſt were, "Strike off his head;" "burn "him alive;" "let him be beaten with clubs till "he expires";" and his moſt favoured miniſters ſoon underſtood, that, by a raſh attempt, to diſpute, or ſuſpend, the execution of his ſanguinary commands, they might involve themſelves in the guilt and puniſhment of diſobedience. The repeated gratification of this ſavage juſtice hardened the mind of Valentinian againſt pity and remorſe; and the ſallies of paſſion were confirmed by the habits of cruelty [11]. He could behold with calm ſatisfaction the convulſive agonies of torture and death: he reſerved his friendſhip for thoſe faithful ſervants whoſe temper was the moſt congenial to his own. The merit of Maximin, who had ſlaughtered the nobleſt families of Rome, was rewarded with the royal approbation, and the præfecture of Gaul. Two fierce and enormous bears, diſtinguiſhed by the appellations of *Innocence* and *Mica Aurea*, could alone deſerve to ſhare the favour of Maximin. The cages of thoſe truſty guards were always placed near the bed-chamber of Valentinian, who frequently amuſed his eyes with the grateful ſpectacle of ſeeing them tear and devour the bleeding limbs of the malefactors, who were abandoned to their rage. Their diet and

exercises were carefully inspected by the Roman emperor; and when *Innocence* had earned her discharge, by a long course of meritorious service, the faithful animal was again restored to the freedom of her native woods [*].

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But in the calmer moments of reflection, when the mind of Valens was not agitated by fear, or that of Valentinian by rage, the tyrant resumed the sentiments, or at least the conduct, of the father of his country. The dispassionate judgment of the Western emperor could clearly perceive, and accurately pursue, his own and the public interest; and the sovereign of the East, who imitated with equal docility the various examples which he received from his elder brother, was sometimes guided by the wisdom and virtue of the præfect Sallust. Both princes invariably retained, in the purple, the chaste and temperate simplicity which had adorned their private life; and, under their reign, the pleasures of the court never cost the people a blush or a sigh. They gradually reformed many of the abuses of the times of Constantius; judiciously adopted and improved the designs of Julian and his successor; and displayed a style and spirit of legislation which might inspire posterity with the most favourable opinion of their character and government. It is not from the master of *Innocence*, that we should expect the tender regard for the welfare of his subjects, which prompted Valentinian to condemn the exposition of new-born infants [**]; and to establish fourteen skilful physicians, with stipends

Their laws and government.

CHAP. XXV. and privileges, in the fourteen quarters of Rome. The good ſenſe of an illiterate ſoldier founded an uſeful and liberal inſtitution for the education of youth, and the ſupport of declining ſcience [61]. It was his intention, that the arts of rhetoric and grammar ſhould be taught, in the Greek and Latin languages, in the metropolis of every province; and as the ſize and dignity of the ſchool was uſually proportioned to the importance of the city, the academies of Rome and Conſtantinople claimed a juſt and ſingular pre-eminence. The fragments of the literary edicts of Valentinian imperfectly repreſent the ſchool of Conſtantinople, which was gradually improved by ſubſequent regulations. That ſchool conſiſted of thirty-one profeſſors in different branches of learning. One philoſopher, and two lawyers; five ſophiſts, and ten grammarians for the Greek, and three orators, and ten grammarians for the Latin, tongue; beſides ſeven ſcribes, or, as they were then ſtyled, antiquarians, whoſe laborious pens ſupplied the public library with fair and correct copies of the claſſic writers. The rule of conduct, which was preſcribed to the ſtudents, is the more curious, as it affords the firſt outlines of the form and diſcipline of a modern univerſity. It was required, that they ſhould bring proper certificates from the magiſtrates of their native province. Their names, profeſſions, and places of abode, were regularly entered in a public regiſter. The ſtudious youth were ſeverely prohibited from waſting their time in feaſts, or in the theatre; and

and the term of their education was limited to the age of twenty. The præfect of the city was empowered to chaſtiſe the idle and refractory, by ſtripes or expulſion; and he was directed to make an annual report to the maſter of the offices, that the knowledge and abilities of the ſcholars might be uſefully applied to the public ſervice. The inſtitutions of Valentinian contributed to ſecure the benefits of peace and plenty: and the cities were guarded by the eſtabliſhment of the *Defenſors* [62]; freely elected as the tribunes and advocates of the people, to ſupport their rights, and to expoſe their grievances, before the tribunals of the civil magiſtrates, or even at the foot of the Imperial throne. The finances were diligently adminiſtered by two princes, who had been ſo long accuſtomed to the rigid œconomy of a private fortune; but in the receipt and application of the revenue, a diſcerning eye might obſerve ſome difference between the government of the Eaſt and of the Weſt. Valens was perſuaded, that royal liberality can be ſupplied only by public oppreſſion, and his ambition never aſpired to ſecure, by their actual diſtreſs, the future ſtrength and proſperity of his people. Inſtead of increaſing the weight of taxes, which, in the ſpace of forty years, had been gradually doubled, he reduced, in the firſt years of his reign, one fourth of the tribute of the Eaſt [63]. Valentinian appears to have been leſs attentive and leſs anxious to relieve the burthens of his people. He might reform the abuſes of the fiſcal adminiſtration; but he exacted, without

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ſcruple, a very large ſhare of the private property; as he was convinced, that the revenues which ſupported the luxury of individuals would be much more advantageouſly employed for the defence and improvement of the ſtate. The ſubjects of the Eaſt, who enjoyed the preſent benefit, applauded the indulgence of their prince. The ſolid, but leſs ſplendid, merit of Valentinian was felt and acknowledged by the ſubſequent generation [*].

Valentinian maintains the religious toleration A. D. 364—375.

But the moſt honourable circumſtance of the character of Valentinian, is the firm and temperate impartiality which he uniformly preſerved in an age of religious contention. His ſtrong ſenſe, unenlightened, but uncorrupted, by ſtudy, declined, with reſpectful indifference, the ſubtle queſtions of theological debate. The government of the *Earth* claimed his vigilance, and ſatisfied his ambition; and while he remembered, that he was the diſciple of the church, he never forgot that he was the ſovereign of the clergy. Under the reign of an apoſtate, he had ſignalized his zeal for the honour of Chriſtianity: he allowed to his ſubjects the privilege which he had aſſumed for himſelf; and they might accept, with gratitude and confidence, the general toleration which was granted by a prince, addicted to paſſion, but incapable of fear or of diſguiſe [*]. The Pagans, the Jews, and all the various ſects which acknowledged the divine authority of Chriſt, were protected by the laws from arbitrary power or popular inſult; nor was any mode of worſhip prohibited

by Valentinian, except thoſe ſecret and criminal practices, which abuſed the name of religion for the dark purpoſes of vice and diſorder. The art of magic, as it was more cruelly puniſhed, was more ſtrictly proſcribed; but the emperor admitted a formal diſtinction to protect the ancient methods of divination, which were approved by the ſenate, and exerciſed by the Tuſcan haruſpices. He had condemned, with the conſent of the moſt rational Pagans, the licence of nocturnal ſacrifices; but he immediately admitted the petition of Prætextatus, proconſul of Achaia, who repreſented, that the life of the Greeks would become dreary and comfortleſs, if they were deprived of the invaluable bleſſing of the Eleuſinian myſteries. Philoſophy alone can boaſt (and perhaps it is no more than the boaſt of philoſophy), that her gentle hand is able to eradicate from the human mind the latent and deadly principle of fanaticiſm. But this truce of twelve years, which was enforced by the wiſe and vigorous government of Valentinian, by ſuſpending the repetition of mutual injuries, contributed to ſoften the manners, and abate the prejudices, of the religious factions. CHAP. XXV.

Valens profeſſes Arianiſm, and perſecutes the catholics. A. D. 367—378.

The friend of toleration was unfortunately placed at a diſtance from the ſcene of the fierceſt controverſies. As ſoon as the Chriſtians of the Weſt had extricated themſelves from the ſnares of the creed of Rimini, they happily relapſed into the ſlumber of orthodoxy; and the ſmall remains of the Arian party, that ſtill ſubſiſted at Sirmium or Milan, might be conſidered, rather as objects

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of contempt than of reſentment. But in the provinces of the Eaſt, from the Euxine to the extremity of Thebais, the ſtrength and numbers of the hoſtile factions were more equally balanced; and this equality, inſtead of recommending the counſels of peace, ſerved only to perpetuate the horrors of religious war. The monks and biſhops ſupported their arguments by invectives; and their invectives were ſometimes followed by blows. Athanaſius ſtill reigned at Alexandria; the thrones of Conſtantinople and Antioch were occupied by Arian prelates, and every epiſcopal vacancy was the occaſion of a popular tumult. The Homoouſians were fortified by the reconciliation of fifty-nine Macedonian, or Semi-Arian, biſhops; but their ſecret reluctance to embrace the divinity of the Holy Ghoſt, clouded the ſplendour of the triumph: and the declaration of Valens, who, in the firſt years of his reign, had imitated the impartial conduct of his brother, was an important victory on the ſide of Arianiſm. The two brothers had paſſed their private life in the condition of catechumens; but the piety of Valens prompted him to ſolicit the ſacrament of baptiſm, before he expoſed his perſon to the dangers of a Gothic war. He naturally addreſſed himſelf to Eudoxus [“], biſhop of the Imperial city; and if the ignorant monarch was inſtructed by that Arian paſtor in the principles of heterodox theology, his misfortune, rather than his guilt, was the inevitable conſequence of his erroneous choice. Whatever had been the determination of the emperor, he

muſt have offended a numerous party of his Chriſtian ſubjects; as the leaders both of the Homoouſians and of the Arians believed, that, if they were not ſuffered to reign, they were moſt cruelly injured and oppreſſed. After he had taken this deciſive ſtep, it was extremely difficult for him to preſerve either the virtue, or the reputation, of impartiality. He never aſpired, like Conſtantius, to the fame of a profound theologian; but, as he had received with ſimplicity and reſpect the tenets of Eudoxus, Valens reſigned his conſcience to the direction of his eccleſiaſtical guides, and promoted, by the influence of his authority, the re-union of the *Athanaſian heretics* to the body of the catholic church. At firſt, he pitied their blindneſs; by degrees he was provoked at their obſtinacy; and he inſenſibly hated thoſe ſectaries to whom he was an object of hatred [67]. The feeble mind of Valens was always ſwayed by the perſons with whom he familiarly converſed; and the exile or impriſonment of a private citizen are the favours the moſt readily granted in a deſpotic court. Such puniſhments were frequently inflicted on the leaders of the Homoouſian party; and the misfortune of fourſcore eccleſiaſtics of Conſtantinople, who, perhaps accidentally, were burnt on ſhipboard, was imputed to the cruel and premeditated malice of the emperor, and his Arian miniſters. In every conteſt, the catholics (if we may anticipate that name) were obliged to pay the penalty of their own faults, and of

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those of their adversaries. In every election, the claims of the Arian candidate obtained the preference; and if they were opposed by the majority of the people, he was usually supported by the authority of the civil magistrate, or even by the terrors of a military force. The enemies of Athanasius attempted to disturb the last years of his venerable age; and his temporary retreat to his father's sepulchre has been celebrated as a fifth exile. But the zeal of a great people, who instantly flew to arms, intimidated the præfect; and the archbishop was permitted to end his life in peace and in glory, after a reign of forty-seven years. The death of Athanasius was the signal of the persecution of Egypt; and the Pagan minister of Valens, who forcibly seated the worthless Lucius on the archiepiscopal throne, purchased the favour of the reigning party by the blood and sufferings of their Christian brethren. The free toleration of the heathen and Jewish worship was bitterly lamented, as a circumstance which aggravated the misery of the catholics, and the guilt of the impious tyrant of the East [66].

Death of Athanasius, A. D. 373. May 2d.

The triumph of the orthodox party has left a deep stain of persecution on the memory of Valens; and the character of a prince who derived his virtues, as well as his vices, from a feeble understanding, and a pusillanimous temper, scarcely deserves the labour of an apology. Yet candour may discover some reasons to suspect that the ecclesiastical ministers of Valens often exceeded the orders, or even the intentions, of their master;

Just idea of his persecution.

and that the real meaſure of facts has been very liberally magnified by the vehement declamation and eaſy credulity of his antagoniſts [69]. 1. The ſilence of Valentinian may ſuggeſt a probable argument, that the partial ſeverities, which were exerciſed in the name and provinces of his colleague, amounted only to ſome obſcure and inconſiderable deviations from the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of religious toleration: and the judicious hiſtorian, who has praiſed the equal temper of the elder brother, has not thought himſelf obliged to contraſt the tranquillity of the Weſt with the cruel perſecution of the Eaſt [70]. 2. Whatever credit may be allowed to vague and diſtant reports the character, or at leaſt the behaviour, of Valens may be moſt diſtinctly ſeen in his perſonal tranſactions with the eloquent Baſil, archbiſhop of Cæſarea, who had ſucceeded Athanaſius in the management of the Trinitarian cauſe [71]. The circumſtantial narrative has been compoſed by the friends and admirers of Baſil; and as ſoon as we have ſtripped away a thick coat of rhetoric and miracle, we ſhall be aſtoniſhed by the unexpected mildneſs of the Arian tyrant, who admired the firmneſs of his character, or was apprehenſive, if he employed violence, of a general revolt in the province of Cappadocia. The archbiſhop, who aſſerted, with inflexible pride [72], the truth of his opinions, and the dignity of his rank, was left in the free poſſeſſion of his conſcience, and his throne. The emperor devoutly aſſiſted at the ſolemn ſervice of the cathedral; and, inſtead of a

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ſentence of baniſhment, ſubſcribed the donation of a valuable eſtate for the uſe of an hoſpital, which Baſil had lately founded in the neighbourhood of Cæſarea [73]. 3. I am not able to diſcover, that any law (ſuch as Theodoſius afterwards enacted againſt the Arians) was publiſhed by Valens againſt the Athanaſian ſectaries; and the edict which excited the moſt violent clamours, may not appear ſo extremely reprehenſible. The emperor had obſerved, that ſeveral of his ſubjects, gratifying their lazy diſpoſition under the pretence of religion, had aſſociated themſelves with the monks of Egypt; and he directed the count of the Eaſt to drag them from their ſolitude: and to compel thoſe deſerters of ſociety to accept the fair alternative, of renouncing their temporal poſſeſſions, or of diſcharging the public duties of men and citizens [74]. The miniſters of Valens ſeem to have extended the ſenſe of this penal ſtatute, ſince they claimed a right of enliſting the young and able bodied monks in the Imperial armies. A detachment of cavalry and infantry, conſiſting of three thouſand men, marched from Alexandria into the adjacent deſert of Nitria [75], which was peopled by five thouſand monks. The ſoldiers were conducted by Arian prieſts; and it is reported, that a conſiderable ſlaughter was made in the monaſteries which diſobeyed the commands of their ſovereign [76].

Valentinian reſtrains the avarice

The ſtrict regulations which had been framed by the wiſdom of modern legiſlators to reſtrain the wealth and avarice of the clergy, may be originally

deduced from the example of the emperor Valentinian. His edict [77] addreſſed to Damaſus, biſhop of Rome, was publicly read in the churches of the city. He admoniſhed the eccleſiaſtics and monks not to frequent the houſes of widows and virgins; and menaced their diſobedience with the animadverſion of the civil judge. The director was no longer permitted to receive any gift, or legacy, or inheritance, from the liberality of his ſpiritual daughter: every teſtament contrary to this edict was declared null and void; and the illegal donation was confiſcated for the uſe of the treaſury. By a ſubſequent regulation, it ſhould ſeem, that the ſame proviſions were extended to nuns and biſhops; and that all perſons of the eccleſiaſtical order were rendered incapable of receiving any teſtamentary gifts, and ſtrictly confined to the natural and legal rights of inheritance. As the guardian of domeſtic happineſs and virtue, Valentinian applied this ſevere remedy to the growing evil. In the capital of the empire, the females of noble and opulent houſes poſſeſſed a very ample ſhare of independent property: and many of thoſe devout females had embraced the doctrines of Chriſtianity, not only with the cold aſſent of the underſtanding, but with the warmth of affection, and perhaps with the eagerneſs of faſhion. They ſacrificed the pleaſures of dreſs and luxury; and renounced, for the praiſe of chaſtity, the ſoft endearments of conjugal ſociety. Some eccleſiaſtic, of real or apparent ſanctity, was choſen to direct their timorous conſcience, and to amuſe the vacant

CHAP. XXV. of the clergy. A. D. 370.

CHAP. XXV. tenderneſs of their heart: and the unbounded confidence, which they haſtily beſtowed, was often abuſed by knaves and enthuſiaſts, who haſtened from the extremities of the Eaſt, to enjoy, on a ſplendid theatre, the privileges of the monaſtic profeſſion. By their contempt of the world, they inſenſibly acquired its moſt deſirable advantages; the lively attachment, perhaps, of a young and beautiful woman, the delicate plenty of an opulent houſehold, and the reſpectful homage of the ſlaves, the freedmen, and the clients of a ſenatorial family. The immenſe fortunes of the Roman ladies were gradually conſumed, in laviſh alms and expenſive pilgrimages; and the artful monk, who had aſſigned himſelf the firſt, or poſſibly the ſole place, in the teſtament of his ſpiritual daughter, ſtill preſumed to declare, with the ſmooth face of hypocriſy, that *he* was only the inſtrument of charity, and the ſteward of the poor. The lucrative, but diſgraceful, trade [72], which was exerciſed by the clergy to defraud the expectations of the natural heirs, had provoked the indignation of a ſuperſtitious age: and two of the moſt reſpectable of the Latin fathers very honeſtly confeſs, that the ignominious edict of Valentinian was juſt and neceſſary; and that the Chriſtian prieſts had deſerved to loſe a privilege, which was ſtill enjoyed by comedians, charioteers, and the miniſters of idols. But the wiſdom and authority of the legiſlator are ſeldom victorious in a conteſt with the vigilant dexterity of private intereſt; and Jerom, or Ambroſe, might patiently

acquieſce in the juſtice of an ineffectual or ſalutary law. If the eccleſiaſtics were checked in the purſuit of perſonal emolument, they would exert a more laudable induſtry to increaſe the wealth of the church; and dignify their covetouſneſs with the ſpecious names of piety and patriotiſm [77].

Ambition and luxury of Damaſus, biſhop of Rome. A. D. 366—384.

Damaſus, biſhop of Rome, who was conſtrained to ſtigmatize the avarice of his clergy by the publication of the law of Valentinian, had the good ſenſe, or the good fortune, to engage in his ſervice the zeal and abilities of the learned Jerom; and the grateful ſaint has celebrated the merit and purity of a very ambiguous character [78]. But the ſplendid vices of the Church of Rome, under the reign of Valentinian and Damaſus, have been curiouſly obſerved by the hiſtorian Ammianus, who delivers his impartial ſenſe in theſe expreſſive words: "The præfecture of "Juventius was accompanied with peace and "plenty: but the tranquillity of his government "was ſoon diſturbed by a bloody ſedition of the "diſtracted people. The ardour of Damaſus "and Urſinus, to ſeize the epiſcopal ſeat, ſurpaſſed the ordinary meaſure of human ambi"tion. They contended with the rage of party; "the quarrel was maintained by the wounds and "death of their followers; and the præfect, un"able to reſiſt or to appeaſe the tumult, was "conſtrained, by ſuperior violence, to retire "into the ſuburbs. Damaſus prevailed: the well"diſputed victory remained on the ſide of his "faction; one hundred and thirty-ſeven dead

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" bodies [81] were found in the *Baſilica* of Sicini-
" nus [82], where the Chriſtians hold their reli-
" gious aſſemblies; and it was long before the
" angry minds of the people reſumed their ac-
" cuſtomed tranquillity. When I conſider the
" ſplendour of the capital, I am not aſtoniſhed
" that ſo valuable a prize ſhould inflame the de-
" ſires of ambitious men, and produce the fierceſt
" and moſt obſtinate conteſts The ſucceſsful
" candidate is ſecure, that he will be enriched
" by the offerings of matrons [83]; that, as ſoon
" as his dreſs is compoſed with becoming care
" and elegance, he may proceed, in his chariot,
" through the ſtreets of Rome [84]; and, that the
" ſumptuouſneſs of the Imperial table will not
" equal the profuſe and delicate entertainments
" provided by the taſte, and at the expence, of
" the Roman pontiffs. How much more ration-
" ally, continues the honeſt Pagan, would thoſe
" pontiffs conſult their true happineſs, if, inſtead
" of alleging the greatneſs of the city as an ex-
" cuſe for their manners, they would imitate the
" exemplary life of ſome provincial biſhops,
" whoſe temperance and ſobriety, whoſe mean
" apparel and downcaſt looks, recommended their
" pure and modeſt virtue to the Deity, and his
" true worſhippers [85]." The ſchiſm of Damaſus and Urſinus was extinguiſhed by the exile of the latter; and the wiſdom of the præfect Prætextatus [86] reſtored the tranquillity of the city. Prætextatus was a philoſophic Pagan, a man of learning, of taſte, and politeneſs; who diſguiſed

a reproach in the form of a jeſt, when he aſſured Damaſus, that if he could obtain the biſhopric of Rome, he himſelf would immediately embrace the Chriſtian religion [87]. This lively picture of the wealth and luxury of the popes in the fourth century, becomes the more curious, as it repreſents the intermediate degree, between the humble poverty of the apoſtolic fiſherman, and the royal ſtate of a temporal prince, whoſe dominions extend from the confines of Naples to the banks of the Po. CHAP. XXV.

Foreign wars.

When the ſuffrage of the generals and of the army committed the ſceptre of the Roman empire to the hands of Valentinian, his reputation in arms, his military ſkill and experience, and his rigid attachment to the forms, as well as ſpirit, of ancient diſcipline, were the principal motives of their judicious choice. The eagerneſs of the troops who preſſed him to nominate his colleague, was juſtified by the dangerous ſituation of public affairs; and Valentinian himſelf was conſcious, that the abilities of the moſt active mind were unequal to the defence of the diſtant frontiers of an invaded monarchy. As ſoon as the death of Julian had relieved the Barbarians from the terror of his name, the moſt ſanguine hopes of rapine and conqueſt excited the nations of the Eaſt, of the North, and of the South. Their inroads were often vexatious, and ſometimes formidable; but, during the twelve years of the reign of Valentinian, his firmneſs and vigilance protected his own dominions; and his

A. D. 364—375.

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powerful genius ſeemed to inſpire and direct the feeble counſels of his brother. Perhaps the method of annals would more forcibly expreſs the urgent and divided cares of the two emperors; but the attention of the reader, likewiſe, would be diſtracted by a tedious and deſultory narrative. A ſeparate view of the five great theatres of war: I. Germany; II. Britain; III. Africa; IV. The Eaſt; and, V. The Danube; will impreſs a more diſtinct image of the military ſtate of the empire under the reigns of Valentinian and Valens.

I. GERMANY. The Alemanni invade Gaul, A. D. 365.

I. The ambaſſadors of the Alemanni had been offended by the harſh and haughty behaviour of Urſacius, maſter of the offices [a]; who, by an act of unſeaſonable parſimony, had diminiſhed the value, as well as the quantity, of the preſents, to which they were entitled, either from cuſtom or treaty, on the acceſſion of a new emperor. They expreſſed, and they communicated to their countrymen, their ſtrong ſenſe of the national affront. The irafcible minds of the chiefs were exaſperated by the ſuſpicion of contempt; and the martial youth crowded to their ſtandard. Before Valentinian could paſs the Alps, the villages of Gaul were in flames; before his general Dagalaiphus could encounter the Alemanni, they had ſecured the captives and the ſpoil in the foreſts of Germany. In the beginning of the enſuing year, the military force of the whole nation, in deep and ſolid columns, broke through the barrier of the Rhine, during the ſeverity of a northern winter. Two Roman counts were defeated and

A. D. 366. January.

mortally wounded; and the ſtandard of the Heruli and Batavians fell into the hands of the conquerors, who diſplayed, with inſulting ſhouts and menaces, the trophy of their victory. The ſtandard was recovered; but the Batavians had not redeemed the ſhame of their diſgrace and flight in the eyes of their ſevere judge. It was the opinion of Valentinian, that his ſoldiers muſt learn to fear their commander, before they could ceaſe to fear the enemy. The troops were ſolemnly aſſembled: and the trembling Batavians were incloſed within the circle of the Imperial army. Valentinian then aſcended his tribunal: and, as if he diſdained to puniſh cowardice with death, he inflicted a ſtain of indelible ignominy on the officers, whoſe miſconduct and puſillanimity were found to be the firſt occaſion of the defeat. The Batavians were degraded from their rank, ſtripped of their arms, and condemned to be ſold for ſlaves to the higheſt bidder. At this tremendous ſentence the troops fell proſtrate on the ground; deprecated the indignation of their ſovereign; and proteſted, that if he would indulge them in another trial, they would approve themſelves not unworthy of the name of Romans, and of his ſoldiers. Valentinian, with affected reluctance, yielded to their entreaties: the Batavians reſumed their arms; and with their arms, the invincible reſolution of wiping away the diſgrace in the blood of the Alemanni [*]. The principal command was declined by Dagalaiphus; and that experienced general, who had repreſented, perhaps with too much prudence, the extreme

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difficulties of the undertaking, had the mortification, before the end of the campaign, of ſeeing his rival Jovinus convert thoſe difficulties into a deciſive advantage over the ſcattered forces of the Barbarians. At the head of a well-diſciplined army of cavalry, infantry, and light troops, Jovinus advanced, with cautious and rapid ſteps, to Scarponna[90], in the territory of Metz, where he ſurpriſed a large diviſion of the Alemanni, before they had time to run to their arms; and fluſhed his ſoldiers with the confidence of an eaſy and bloodleſs victory. Another diviſion, or rather army, of the enemy, after the cruel and wanton devaſtation of the adjacent country, repoſed themſelves on the ſhady banks of the Moſelle. Jovinus, who had viewed the ground with the eye of a general, made his ſilent approach through a deep and woody vale, till he could diſtinctly perceive the indolent ſecurity of the Germans. Some were bathing their huge limbs in the river; others were combing their long and flaxen hair; others again were ſwallowing large draughts of rich and delicious wine. On a ſudden they heard the ſound of the Roman trumpet; they ſaw the enemy in their camp. Aſtoniſhment produced diſorder; diſorder was followed by flight and diſmay, and the confuſed multitude of the braveſt warriors was pierced by the ſwords and javelins of the legionaries and auxiliaries. The fugitives eſcaped to the third, and moſt conſiderable, camp, in the Catalaunian plains, near Chalons in Champagne: the ſtraggling detachments were haſtily recalled to their ſtandard; and the Barbarian chiefs,

Their defeat.

chiefs, alarmed and admoniſhed by the fate of their companions, prepared to encounter, in a deciſive battle, the victorious forces of the lieutenant of Valentinian. The bloody and obſtinate conflict laſted a whole ſummer's day, with equal valour, and with alternate ſucceſs. The Romans at length prevailed, with the loſs of about twelve hundred men. Six thouſand of the Alemanni were ſlain, four thouſand were wounded; and the brave Jovinus, after chacing the flying remnant of their hoſt as far as the banks of the Rhine, returned to Paris, to receive the applauſe of his ſovereign, and the enſigns of the conſulſhip for the enſuing year[91]. The triumph of the Romans was indeed ſullied by their treatment of the captive king, whom they hung on a gibbet, without the knowledge of their indignant general. This diſgraceful act of cruelty, which might be imputed to the fury of the troops, was followed by the deliberate murder of Withicab, the ſon of Vadomair; a German prince, of a weak and ſickly conſtitution, but of a daring and formidable ſpirit. The domeſtic aſſaſſin was inſtigated and protected by the Romans[92]; and the violation of the laws of humanity and juſtice betrayed their ſecret apprehenſion of the weakneſs of the declining empire. The uſe of the dagger is ſeldom adopted in public councils, as long as they retain any confidence in the power of the ſword.

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July.

While the Alemanni appeared to be humbled by their recent calamities, the pride of Valen-

Valentinian paſſes.

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and fortifies the Rhine, A. D. 368.

tinian was mortified by the unexpected ſurpriſal of Moguntiacum, or Mentz, the principal city of the Upper Germany. In the unſuſpicious moment of a Chriſtian feſtival, Rando, a bold and artful chieftain, who had long meditated his attempt, ſuddenly paſſed the Rhine; entered the defenceleſs town, and retired with a multitude of captives of either ſex. Valentinian reſolved to execute ſevere vengeance on the whole body of the nation. Count Sebaſtian, with the bands of Italy and Illyricum, was ordered to invade their country, moſt probably on the ſide of Rhætia. The emperor in perſon, accompanied by his ſon Gratian, paſſed the Rhine at the head of a formidable army, which was ſupported on both flanks by Jovinus and Severus, the two maſters-general of the cavalry and infantry of the Weſt. The Alemanni, unable to prevent the devaſtation of their villages, fixed their camp on a lofty, and almoſt inacceſſible, mountain, in the modern dutchy of Wirtemberg, and reſolutely expected the approach of the Romans. The life of Valentinian was expoſed to imminent danger, by the intrepid curioſity with which he perſiſted to explore ſome ſecret and unguarded path. A troop of Barbarians ſuddenly roſe from their ambuſcade: and the emperor, who vigorouſly ſpurred his horſe down a ſteep and ſlippery deſcent, was obliged to leave behind him his armour-bearer, and his helmet, magnificently enriched with gold and precious ſtones. At the ſignal of the general aſſault, the Roman troops encompaſſed and

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aſcended the mountain of Solicinium on three different ſides. Every ſtep which they gained, increaſed their ardour, and abated the reſiſtance of the enemy: and after their united forces had occupied the ſummit of the hill, they impetuouſly urged the Barbarians down the northern deſcent, where count Sebaſtian was poſted to intercept their retreat. After this ſignal victory, Valentinian returned to his winter-quarters at Treves; where he indulged the public joy by the exhibition of ſplendid and triumphal games [93]. But the wiſe monarch, inſtead of aſpiring to the conqueſt of Germany, confined his attention to the important and laborious defence of the Gallic frontier, againſt an enemy, whoſe ſtrength was renewed by a ſtream of daring volunteers, which inceſſantly flowed from the moſt diſtant tribes of the North [94]. The banks of the Rhine, from its ſource to the ſtreights of the ocean, were cloſely planted with ſtrong caſtles and convenient towers; new works, and new arms, were invented by the ingenuity of a prince who was ſkilled in the mechanical arts; and his numerous levies of Roman and Barbarian youth were ſeverely trained in all the exerciſes of war. The progreſs of the work, which was ſometimes oppoſed by modeſt repreſentations, and ſometimes by hoſtile attempts, ſecured the tranquillity of Gaul during the nine ſubſequent years of the adminiſtration of Valentinian [95].

The Burgundians. A. D. 371.

That prudent emperor, who diligently practiſed the wiſe maxims of Diocletian, was ſtudious to

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foment and excite the inteſtine diviſions of the tribes of Germany. About the middle of the fourth century, the countries, perhaps of Luſace and Thuringia, on either ſide of the Elbe, were occupied by the vague dominion of the BURGUNDIANS; a warlike and numerous people, of the Vandal race [96], whoſe obſcure name inſenſibly ſwelled into a powerful kingdom, and has finally ſettled on a flouriſhing province. The moſt remarkable circumſtance in the ancient manners of the Burgundians, appears to have been the difference of their civil and eccleſiaſtical conſtitution. The appellation of *Hendinos* was given to the king or general, and the title of *Siniſtus* to the high-prieſt, of the nation. The perſon of the prieſt was ſacred, and his dignity perpetual; but the temporal government was held by a very precarious tenure. If the events of war accuſed the courage or conduct of the king, he was immediately depoſed; and the injuſtice of his ſubjects made him reſponſible for the fertility of the earth, and the regularity of the ſeaſons, which ſeemed to fall more properly within the ſacerdotal department [97]. The diſputed poſſeſſion of ſome ſalt-pits [98] engaged the Alemanni and the Burgundians in frequent conteſts: the latter were eaſily tempted, by the ſecret ſolicitations, and liberal offers, of the emperor; and their fabulous deſcent from the Roman ſoldiers, who had formerly been left to garriſon the fortreſſes of Druſus, was admitted with mutual credulity, as

it was conducive to mutual intereſt[99]. An army of fourſcore thouſand Burgundians ſoon appeared on the banks of the Rhine; and impatiently required the ſupport and ſubſidies which Valentinian had promiſed: but they were amuſed with excuſes and delays, till at length, after a fruitleſs expectation, they were compelled to retire. The arms and fortifications of the Gallic frontier checked the fury of their juſt reſentment; and their maſſacre of the captives ſerved to embitter the hereditary feud of the Burgundians and the Alemanni. The inconſtancy of a wiſe prince may, perhaps, be explained by ſome alteration of circumſtances; and, perhaps, it was the original deſign of Valentinian to intimidate, rather than to deſtroy;-as the balance of power would have been equally overturned by the extirpation of either of the German nations. Among the princes of the Alemanni, Macrianus, who, with a Roman name, had aſſumed the arts of a ſoldier and a ſtateſman, deſerved his hatred and eſteem. The emperor himſelf, with a light and unincumbered band, condeſcended to paſs the Rhine, marched fifty miles into the country, and would infallibly have ſeized the object of his purſuit, if his judicious meaſures had not been defeated by the impatience of the troops. Macrianus was afterwards admitted to the honour of a perſonal conference with the emperor; and the favours which he received, fixed him, till the hour of his death, a ſteady and ſincere friend of the republic[100].

CHAP. XXV. The Saxons.

The land was covered by the fortifications of Valentinian; but the ſea-coaſt of Gaul and Britain was expoſed to the depredations of the Saxons. That celebrated name, in which we have a dear and domeſtic intereſt, eſcaped the notice of Tacitus; and in the maps of Ptolemy, it faintly marks the narrow neck of the Cimbric peninſula, and three ſmall iſlands towards the mouth of the Elbe [101]. This contracted territory, the preſent Dutchy of Sleſwig, or perhaps of Holſtein, was incapable of pouring forth the inexhauſtible ſwarms of Saxons who reigned over the ocean, who filled the Britiſh iſland with their language, their laws, and their colonies; and who ſo long defended the liberty of the North againſt the arms of Charlemagne [102]. The ſolution of this difficulty is eaſily derived from the ſimilar manners, and looſe conſtitution, of the tribes of Germany; which were blended with each other by the ſlighteſt accidents of war or friendſhip. The ſituation of the native Saxons diſpoſed them to embrace the hazardous profeſſions of fiſhermen and pirates: and the ſucceſs of their firſt adventurers would naturally excite the emulation of their braveſt countrymen, who were impatient of the gloomy ſolitude of their woods and mountains. Every tide might float down the Elbe whole fleets of canoes, filled with hardy and intrepid aſſociates, who aſpired to behold the unbounded proſpect of the ocean, and to taſte the wealth and luxury of unknown worlds. It ſhould ſeem probable, however, that the moſt numerous auxiliaries of the Saxons were furniſhed

by the nations who dwelt along the ſhores of the Baltic. They poſſeſſed arms and ſhips, the art of navigation, and the habits of naval war; but the difficulty of iſſuing through the northern columns of Hercules[103] (which, during ſeveral months of the year, are obſtructed with ice) confined their ſkill and courage within the limits of a ſpacious lake. The rumour of the ſucceſsful armaments which ſailed from the mouth of the Elbe, would ſoon provoke them to croſs the narrow iſthmus of Sleſwig, and to launch their veſſels on the great ſea. The various troops of pirates and adventurers, who fought under the ſame ſtandard, were inſenſibly united in a permanent ſociety, at firſt of rapine, and afterwards of government. A military confederation was gradually moulded into a national body, by the gentle operation of marriage and conſanguinity; and the adjacent tribes, who ſolicited the alliance, accepted the name and laws, of the Saxons. If the fact were not eſtabliſhed by the moſt unqueſtionable evidence, we ſhould appear to abuſe the credulity of our readers, by the deſcription of the veſſels in which the Saxon pirates ventured to ſport in the waves of the German Ocean, the Britiſh Channel, and the Bay of Biſcay. The keel of their large flat-bottomed boats was framed of light timber, but the ſides and upper works conſiſted only of wicker, with a covering of ſtrong hides[104]. In the courſe of their ſlow and diſtant navigations, they muſt always have been expoſed to the danger, and very frequently to the misfortune, of ſhipwreck; and

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CHAP. XXV. the naval annals of the Saxons were undoubtedly filled with the accounts of the loſſes, which they ſuſtained on the coaſts of Britain and Gaul. But the daring ſpirit of the pirates braved the perils, both of the ſea, and of the ſhore: their ſkill was confirmed by the habits of enterprize; the meaneſt of their mariners was alike capable, of handling an oar, of rearing a ſail, or of conducting a veſſel; and the Saxons rejoiced in the appearance of a tempeſt which concealed their deſign, and diſperſed the fleets of the enemy [159]. After they had acquired an accurate knowledge of the maritime provinces of the Weſt, they extended the ſcene of their depredations, and the moſt ſequeſtered places had no reaſon to preſume on their ſecurity. The Saxon boats drew ſo little water, that they could eaſily proceed fourſcore or an hundred miles up the great rivers; their weight was ſo inconſiderable, that they were tranſported on waggons from one river to another; and the pirates who had entered the mouth of the Seine, or of the Rhine, might deſcend, with the rapid ſtream of the Rhone, into the Mediterranean. Under the reign of Valentinian, the maritime provinces of Gaul were afflicted by the Saxons: a military count was ſtationed for the defence of the ſea-coaſt, or Armorican limit; and that officer, who found his ſtrength, or his abilities, unequal to the taſk, implored the aſſiſtance of Severus, maſter-general of the infantry. The Saxons, ſurrounded and outnumbered, were forced to relinquiſh their ſpoil, and to yield a ſelect band of their tall and robuſt

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youth to ſerve in the Imperial armies. They ſtipulated only a ſafe and honourable retreat: and the condition was readily granted by the Roman general; who meditated an act of perfidy[106], as imprudent as it was inhuman, while a Saxon remained alive, and in arms, to revenge the fate of his countrymen. The premature eagerneſs of the infantry, who were ſecretly poſted in a deep valley, betrayed the ambuſcade; and they would perhaps have fallen the victims of their own treachery, if a large body of cuiraſſiers, alarmed by the noiſe of the combat, had not haſtily advanced to extricate their companions, and to overwhelm the undaunted valour of the Saxons. Some of the priſoners were ſaved from the edge of the ſword, to ſhed their blood in the amphitheatre: and the orator Symmachus complains, that twenty-nine of thoſe deſperate ſavages, by ſtrangling themſelves with their own hands, had diſappointed the amuſement of the public. Yet the polite and philoſophic citizens of Rome were impreſſed with the deepeſt horror, when they were informed, that the Saxons conſecrated to the gods the tithe of their *human* ſpoil; and, that they aſcertained by lot the objects of the barbarous ſacrifice[107]. CHAP. XXV.

II. BRITAIN. The Scots and Picts.

II. The fabulous colonies of Egyptians and Trojans, of Scandinavians and Spaniards, which flattered the pride, and amuſed the credulity, of our rude anceſtors, have inſenſibly vaniſhed in the light of ſcience and philoſophy[108]. The preſent age is ſatisfied with the ſimple and rational opinion,

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that the iſlands of Great Britain and Ireland were gradually peopled from the adjacent continent of Gaul. From the coaſt of Kent, to the extremity of Caithneſs and Ulſter, the memory of a Celtic origin was diſtinctly preſerved, in the perpetual reſemblance of language, of religion, and of manners: and the peculiar characters of the Britiſh tribes, might be naturally aſcribed to the influence of accidental and local circumſtances[109]. The Roman province was reduced to the ſtate of civilized and peaceful ſervitude: the rights of ſavage freedom were contracted to the narrow limits of Caledonia. The inhabitants of that northern region were divided, as early as the reign of Conſtantine, between the two great tribes of the SCOTS and of the PICTS[110], who have ſince experienced a very different fortune. The power, and almoſt the memory, of the Picts, have been extinguiſhed by their ſucceſsful rivals; and the Scots, after maintaining for ages the dignity of an independent kingdom, have multiplied, by an equal and voluntary union, the honours of the Engliſh name. The hand of nature had contributed to mark the ancient diſtinction of the Scots and Picts. The former were the men of the hills, and the latter thoſe of the plain. The eaſtern coaſts of Caledonia may be conſidered as a level and fertile country, which, even in a rude ſtate of tillage, was capable of producing a conſiderable quantity of corn: and the epithet of *cruitnich*, or wheat-eaters, expreſſed the contempt, or envy, of the carnivorous highlander. The

cultivation of the earth might introduce a more accurate ſeparation of property, and the habits of a ſedentary life; but the love of arms and rapine was ſtill the ruling paſſion of the Picts: and their warriors, who ſtripped themſelves for a day of battle, were diſtinguiſhed, in the eyes of the Romans, by the ſtrange faſhion of painting their naked bodies, with gaudy colours and fantaſtic figures. The weſtern part of Caledonia irregularly riſes into wild and barren hills, which ſcarcely repay the toil of the huſbandman, and are moſt profitably uſed for the paſture of cattle. The highlanders were condemned to the occupations of ſhepherds and hunters; and, as they ſeldom were fixed to any permanent habitation, they acquired the expreſſive name of SCOTS, which, in the Celtic tongue is ſaid to be equivalent to that of *wanderers*, or *vagrants*. The inhabitants of a barren land were urged to ſeek a freſh ſupply of food in the waters. The deep lakes and bays which interſect their country, are plentifully ſtored with fiſh; and they gradually ventured to caſt their nets in the waves of the ocean. The vicinity of the Hebrides, ſo profuſely ſcattered along the weſtern coaſts of Scotland, tempted their curioſity, and improved their ſkill; and they acquired, by ſlow degrees, the art, or rather the habit, of managing their boats in a tempeſtuous ſea, and of ſteering their nocturnal courſe by the light of the well-known ſtars. The two bold headlands of Caledonia almoſt touch the ſhores of a ſpa-

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cious iſland, which obtained, from its luxuriant vegetation, the epithet of *Green*; and has preſerved, with a ſlight alteration, the name of Erin, or Ierne, or Ireland. It is *probable*, that in ſome remote period of antiquity, the fertile plains of Ulſter received a colony of hungry Scots, and that the ſtrangers of the North, who had dared to encounter the arms of the legions, ſpread their conqueſts over the ſavage and unwarlike natives of a ſolitary iſland. It is *certain*, that, in the declining age of the Roman empire, Caledonia, Ireland, and the Iſle of Man, were inhabited by the Scots; and that the kindred tribes, who were often aſſociated in military enterprize, were deeply affected by the various accidents of their mutual fortunes. They long cheriſhed the lively tradition of their common name and origin: and the miſſionaries of the Iſle of Saints, who diffuſed the light of Chriſtianity over North Britain, eſtabliſhed the vain opinion, that their Iriſh countrymen were the natural, as well as ſpiritual, fathers of the Scottiſh race. The looſe and obſcure tradition has been preſerved by the venerable Bede, who ſcattered ſome rays of light over the darkneſs of the eighth century. On this ſlight foundation, an huge ſuperſtructure of fable was gradually reared, by the bards, and the monks; two orders of men, who equally abuſed the privilege of fiction. The Scottiſh nation, with miſtaken pride, adopted their Iriſh genealogy: and the annals of a long line of imaginary kings have been adorned by the fancy of Boethius, and the claſſic elegance of Buchanan[111].

CHAP. XXV. Their invaſion of Britain, A. D. 343—366.

Six years after the death of Conſtantine, the deſtructive inroads of the Scots and Picts required the preſence of his youngeſt ſon, who reigned in the weſtern empire. Conſtans viſited his Britiſh dominions: but we may form ſome eſtimate of the importance of his atchievements, by the language of panegyric, which celebrates only his triumph over the elements; or, in other words, the good fortune of a ſafe and eaſy paſſage, from the port of Boulogne to the harbour of Sandwich [112]. The calamities which the afflicted provincials continued to experience, from foreign war and domeſtic tyranny, were aggravated by the feeble and corrupt adminiſtration of the eunuchs of Conſtantius; and the tranſient relief which they might obtain from the virtues of Julian, was ſoon loſt by the abſence and death of their benefactor. The ſums of gold and ſilver, which had been painfully collected, or liberally tranſmitted, for the payment of the troops, were intercepted by the avarice of the commanders; diſcharges, or, at leaſt, exemptions, from the military ſervice, were publicly ſold; the diſtreſs of the ſoldiers who were injuriouſly deprived of their legal and ſcanty ſubſiſtence, provoked them to frequent deſertion; the nerves of diſcipline were relaxed, and the highways were infeſted with robbers [113]. The oppreſſion of the good, and the impunity of the wicked, equally contributed to diffuſe through the iſland a ſpirit of diſcontent and revolt; and every ambitious ſubject, every deſperate exile, might entertain a reaſonable hope of ſubverting

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the weak and diſtracted government of Britain. The hoſtile tribes of the North, who deteſted the pride and power of the King of the World, ſuſpended their domeſtic feuds; and the Barbarians of the land and ſea, the Scots, the Picts, and the Saxons, ſpread themſelves, with rapid and irreſiſtible fury, from the wall of Antoninus to the ſhores of Kent. Every production of art and nature, every object of convenience or luxury, which they were incapable of creating by labour, or procuring by trade, was accumulated in the rich and fruitful province of Britain [114]. A philoſopher may deplore the eternal diſcord of the human race, but he will confeſs, that the deſire of ſpoil is a more rational provocation than the vanity of conqueſt. From the age of Conſtantine to that of the Plantagenets, this rapacious ſpirit continued to inſtigate the poor and hardy Caledonians: but the ſame people, whoſe generous humanity ſeems to inſpire the ſongs of Oſſian, was diſgraced by a ſavage ignorance of the virtues of peace, and of the laws of war. Their ſouthern neighbours have felt, and perhaps exaggerated, the cruel depredations of the Scots and Picts [115]: and a valiant tribe of Caledonia, the Attacotti [116], the enemies, and afterwards the ſoldiers, of Valentinian, are accuſed, by an eye-witneſs, of delighting in the taſte of human fleſh. When they hunted the woods for prey, it is ſaid, that they attacked the ſhepherd rather than his flock; and that they curiouſly ſelected the moſt delicate and brawny parts, both of males and females, which

they prepared for their horrid repaſts [111]. If, in the neighbourhood of the commercial and literary town of Glaſgow, a race of cannibals has really exiſted, we may contemplate, in the period of the Scottiſh hiſtory, the oppoſite extremes of ſavage and civiliſed life. Such reflections tend to enlarge the circle of our ideas; and to encourage the pleaſing hope, that New Zealand may produce, in ſome future age, the Hume of the Southern Hemiſphere. CHAP. XXV.

Reſtoration of Britain by Theodoſius. A. D. 367—370.

Every meſſenger who eſcaped acroſs the Britiſh channel, conveyed the moſt melancholy and alarming tidings to the ears of Valentinian; and the emperor was ſoon informed, that the two military commanders of the province had been ſurpriſed and cut off by the Barbarians. Severus, count of the domeſtics, was haſtily diſpatched, and as ſuddenly recalled, by the court of Treves. The repreſentations of Jovinus ſerved only to indicate the greatneſs of the evil; and after a long and ſerious conſultation, the defence, or rather the recovery, of Britain, was entruſted to the abilities of the brave Theodoſius. The exploits of that general, the father of a line of emperors, have been celebrated, with peculiar complacency, by the writers of the age: but his real merit deſerved their applauſe; and his nomination was received, by the army and province, as a ſure preſage of approaching victory. He ſeized the favourable moment of navigation, and ſecurely landed the numerous and veteran bands of the Heruli and Batavians, the Jovians and the Victors.

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In his march from Sandwich to London, Theodoſius defeated ſeveral parties of the Barbarians, releaſed a multitude of captives, and, after diſtributing to his ſoldiers a ſmall portion of the ſpoil, eſtabliſhed the fame of diſintereſted juſtice, by the reſtitution of the remainder to the rightful proprietors. The citizens of London who had almoſt deſpaired of their ſafety, threw open their gates; and as ſoon as Theodoſius had obtained from the court of Treves the important aid of a military lieutenant, and a civil governor, he executed with wiſdom and vigour, the laborious taſk of the deliverance of Britain. The vagrant ſoldiers were recalled to their ſtandard; an edict of amneſty diſpelled the public apprehenſions; and his cheerful example alleviated the rigour of martial diſcipline. The ſcattered and deſultory warfare of the Barbarians, who infeſted the land and ſea, deprived him of the glory of a ſignal victory; but the prudent ſpirit, and conſummate art, of the Roman general, were diſplayed in the operations of two campaigns, which ſucceſſively reſcued every part of the province from the hands of a cruel and rapacious enemy. The ſplendor of the cities, and the ſecurity of the fortifications, were diligently reſtored, by the paternal care of Theodoſius: who with a ſtrong hand confined the trembling Caledonians to the northern angle of the iſland; and perpetuated, by the name and ſettlement of the new province of *Valentia*, the glories of the reign of Valentinian [115]. The voice of poetry and panegyric may add, perhaps

A. D. 368, and 369.

perhaps with ſome degree of truth, that the unknown regions of Thule were ſtained with the blood of the Picts; that the oars of Theodoſius daſhed the waves of the Hyperborean ocean; and that the diſtant Orkneys were the ſcene of his naval victory over the Saxon pirates [119]. He left the province with a fair, as well as ſplendid, reputation: and was immediately promoted to the rank of maſter-general of the cavalry, by a prince, who could applaud, without envy, the merit of his ſervants. In the important ſtation of the upper Danube, the conqueror of Britain checked and defeated the armies of the Alemanni, before he was choſen to ſuppreſs the revolt of Africa. CHAP. XXV.

III. The prince who refuſes to be the judge, inſtructs his people to conſider him as the accomplice, of his miniſters. The military command of Africa had been long exerciſed by Count Romanus, and his abilities were not inadequate to his ſtation: but as ſordid intereſt was the ſole motive of his conduct, he acted, on moſt occaſions, as if he had been the enemy of the province, and the friend of the Barbarians of the deſert. The three flouriſhing cities of Oea, Leptis, and Sabrata, which, under the name of Tripoli, had long conſtituted a fœderal union [120], were obliged, for the firſt time, to ſhut their gates againſt a hoſtile invaſion, ſeveral of their moſt honourable citizens were ſurpriſed and maſſacred; the villages, and even the ſuburbs, were pillaged; and the vines and fruit-trees of that rich territory were

III. AFRICA. Tyranny of Romanus, A. D. 366, etc.

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extirpated by the malicious ſavages of Getulia. The unhappy provincials implored the protection of Romanus; but they ſoon found that their military governor was not leſs cruel and rapacious than the Barbarians. As they were incapable of furniſhing the four thouſand camels, and the exorbitant preſent, which he required, before he would march to the aſſiſtance of Tripoli; his demand was equivalent to a refuſal, and he might juſtly be accuſed as the author of the public calamity. In the annual aſſembly of the three cities, they nominated two deputies, to lay at the feet of Valentinian the cuſtomary offering of a gold victory; and to accompany this tribute, of duty, rather than of gratitude, with their humble complaint, that they were ruined by the enemy and betrayed by their governor. If the ſeverity of Valentinian had been rightly directed, it would have fallen on the guilty head of Romanus. But the Count, long exerciſed in the arts of corruption, had diſpatched a ſwift and truſty meſſenger to ſecure the venal friendſhip of Remigius, maſter of the offices. The wiſdom of the Imperial council was deceived by artifice; and their honeſt indignation was cooled by delay. At length, when the repetition of complaint had been juſtified by the repetition of public misfortunes, the notary Palladius was ſent from the court of Treves, to examine the ſtate of Africa, and the conduct of Romanus. The rigid impartiality of Palladius was eaſily diſarmed: he was tempted to reſerve for himſelf a part of the public treaſure, which he

brought with him for the payment of the troops; and from the moment that he was conſcious of his own guilt, he could no longer refuſe to atteſt the innocence and merit of the Count. The charge of the Tripolitans was declared to be falſe and frivolous; and Palladius himſelf was ſent back from Treves to Africa, with a ſpecial commiſſion, to diſcover and proſecute the authors of this impious conſpiracy againſt the repreſentatives of the ſovereign. His inquiries were managed with ſo much dexterity and ſucceſs, that he compelled the citizens of Leptis, who had ſuſtained a recent ſiege of eight days, to contradict the truth of their own decrees, and to cenſure the behaviour of their own deputies. A bloody ſentence was pronounced, without heſitation, by the raſh and headſtrong cruelty of Valentinian. The preſident of Tripoli, who had preſumed to pity the diſtreſs of the province, was publicly executed at Utica; four diſtinguiſhed citizens were put to death, as the accomplices of the imaginary fraud; and the tongues of two others were cut out, by the expreſs order of the emperor. Romanus, elated by impunity, and irritated by reſiſtance, was ſtill continued in the military command; till the Africans were provoked, by his avarice, to join the rebellious ſtandard of Firmus, the Moor [121].

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Revolt of Firmus, A. D. 372.

His father Nabal was one of the richeſt and moſt powerful of the Mooriſh princes, who acknowledged the ſupremacy of Rome. But as he left, either by his wives or concubines, a very numerous poſterity, the wealthy inheritance was eagerly

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diſputed; and Zamma, one of his ſons, was ſlain in a domeſtic quarrel by his brother Firmus. The implacable zeal, with which Romanus proſecuted the legal revenge of this murder, could be aſcribed only to a motive of avarice, or perſonal hatred: but, on this occaſion, his claims were juſt; his influence was weighty; and Firmus clearly underſtood, that he muſt either preſent his neck to the executioner, or appeal from the ſentence of the Imperial conſiſtory, to his ſword, and to the people [122]. He was received as the deliverer of his country; and, as ſoon as it appeared, that Romanus was formidable only to a ſubmiſſive province, the tyrant of Africa became the object of univerſal contempt. The ruin of Cæſarea, which was plundered and burnt by the licentious Barbarians, convinced the refractory cities of the danger of reſiſtance; the power of Firmus was eſtabliſhed, at leaſt in the provinces of Mauritania and Numidia; and it ſeemed to be his only doubt, whether he ſhould aſſume the diadem of a Mooriſh king, or the purple of a Roman emperor. But the imprudent and unhappy Africans ſoon diſcovered, that, in this raſh inſurrection, they had not ſufficiently conſulted their own ſtrength, or the abilities of their leader. Before he could procure any certain intelligence, that the emperor of the Weſt had fixed the choice of a general, or that a fleet of tranſports was collected at the mouth of the Rhone, he was ſuddenly informed, that the great Theodoſius, with a ſmall band of veterans, had landed near Igilgilis, or Gigeri, on the African

Theodoſius recovers Africa. A. D. 373.

coaſt; and the timid uſurper ſunk under the aſcendant of virtue and military genius. Though Firmus poſſeſſed arms and treaſures, his deſpair of victory immediately reduced him to the uſe of thoſe arts, which, in the ſame country, and in a ſimilar ſituation had formerly been practiſed by the crafty Jugurtha. He attempted to deceive, by an apparent ſubmiſſion, the vigilance of the Roman general; to ſeduce the fidelity of his troops; and to protract the duration of the war, by ſucceſſively engaging the independent tribes of Africa to eſpouſe his quarrel, or to protect his flight. Theodoſius imitated the example, and obtained the ſucceſs, of his predeceſſor Metellus. When Firmus, in the character of a ſuppliant, accuſed his own raſhneſs, and humbly ſolicited the clemency of the emperor, the lieutenant of Valentinian received and diſmiſſed him with a friendly embrace; but he diligently required the uſeful and ſubſtantial pledges of a ſincere repentance; nor could he be perſuaded, by the aſſurances of peace, to ſuſpend, for an inſtant, the operations of an active war. A dark conſpiracy was detected by the penetration of Theodoſius; and he ſatisfied, without much reluctance, the public indignation, which he had ſecretly excited. Several of the guilty accomplices of Firmus were abandoned, according to ancient cuſtom, to the tumult of a military execution; many more, by the amputation of both their hands, continued to exhibit an inſtructive ſpectacle of horror; the hatred of the rebels was accompanied with fear; and the

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fear of the Roman ſoldiers was mingled with reſpectful admiration. Amidſt the boundleſs plains of Getulia, and the innumerable vallies of Mount Atlas, it was impoſſible to prevent the eſcape of Firmus: and if the uſurper could have tired the patience of his antagoniſt, he would have ſecured his perſon in the depth of ſome remote ſolitude, and expected the hopes of a future revolution. He was ſubdued by the perſeverance of Theodoſius; who had formed an inflexible determination, that the war ſhould end only by the death of the tyrant; and that every nation of Africa, which preſumed to ſupport his cauſe, ſhould be involved in his ruin. At the head of a ſmall body of troops, which ſeldom exceeded three thouſand five hundred men, the Roman general advanced, with a ſteady prudence, devoid of raſhneſs, or of fear, into the heart of a country, where he was ſometimes attacked by armies of twenty thouſand Moors. The boldneſs of his charge diſmayed the irregular Barbarians; they were diſconcerted by his ſeaſonable and orderly retreats; they were continually baffled by the unknown reſources of the military art; and they felt and confeſſed the juſt ſuperiority which was aſſumed by the leader of a civiliſed nation. When Theodoſius entered the extenſive dominions of Igmazen, king of the Iſaflenſes, the haughty ſavage required, in words of defiance, his name, and the object of his expedition. "I "am, replied the ſtern and diſdainful count, I "am the general of Valentinian, the lord of the "world, who has ſent me hither to purſue and

" puniſh a deſperate robber. Deliver him inſtantly " into my hands; and be aſſured, that if thou " doſt not obey the commands of my invincible " ſovereign, thou, and the people over whom " thou reigneſt, ſhall be utterly extirpated." As ſoon as Igmazen was ſatisfied, that his enemy had ſtrength and reſolution to execute the fatal menace, he conſented to purchaſe a neceſſary peace by the ſacrifice of a guilty fugitive. The guards that were placed to ſecure the perſon of Firmus, deprived him of the hopes of eſcape; and the Mooriſh tyrant, after wine had extinguiſhed the ſenſe of danger, diſappointed the inſulting triumph of the Romans, by ſtrangling himſelf in the night. His dead body, the only preſent which Igmazen could offer to the conqueror, was careleſsly thrown upon a camel: and Theodoſius, leading back his victorious troops to Sitifi, was ſaluted by the warmeſt acclamations of joy and loyalty [123]. CHAP. XXV.

He is executed at Carthage, A. D. 376.

Africa had been loſt by the vices of Romanus; it was reſtored by the virtues of Theodoſius: and our curioſity may be uſefully directed to the inquiry of the reſpective treatment, which the two generals received from the Imperial court. The authority of Count Romanus had been ſuſpended by the maſter-general of the cavalry; and he was committed to ſafe and honourable cuſtody till the end of the war. His crimes were proved by the moſt authentic evidence; and the public expected, with ſome impatience, the decree of ſevere juſtice. But the partial and powerful favour

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of Mellobaudes encouraged him to challenge his legal judges, to obtain repeated delays for the purpoſe of procuring a crowd of friendly witneſſes, and, finally, to cover his guilty conduct, by the additional guilt of fraud and forgery. About the ſame time, the reſtorer of Britain and Africa, on a vague ſuſpicion that his name and ſervices were ſuperior to the rank of a ſubject, was ignominiouſly-beheaded at Carthage. Valentinian no longer reigned; and the death of Theodoſius, as well as the impunity of Romanus, may juſtly be imputed to the arts of the miniſters who abuſed the confidence, and deceived the inexperienced youth, of his ſons [124].

State of Africa.

If the geographical accuracy of Ammianus had been fortunately beſtowed on the Britiſh exploits of Theodoſius, we ſhould have traced, with eager curioſity, the diſtinct and domeſtic footſteps of his march. But the tedious enumeration of the unknown and unintereſting tribes of Africa may be reduced to the general remark, that they were all of the ſwarthy race of the Moors; that they inhabited the back ſettlements of the Mauritanian and Numidian provinces, the country, as they have ſince been termed by the Arabs, of dates and of locuſts [125]; and that, as the Roman power declined in Africa, the boundary of civiliſed manners and cultivated land was inſenſibly contracted. Beyond the utmoſt limits of the Moors, the vaſt and inhoſpitable deſert of the South extends above a thouſand miles to the banks of the Niger. The ancients, who had a

very faint and imperfect knowledge of the great peninsula of Africa, were sometimes tempted to believe, that the torrid zone must ever remain destitute of inhabitants [126]: and they sometimes amused their fancy by filling the vacant space with headless men, or rather monsters [127]; with horned and cloven-footed satyrs [128]; with fabulous centaurs [129]; and with human pygmies, who waged a bold and doubtful warfare against the cranes [130]. Carthage would have trembled at the strange intelligence, that the countries, on either side of the equator, were filled with innumerable nations, who differed only in their colour from the ordinary appearance of the human species; and the subjects of the Roman empire might have anxiously expected, that the swarms of Barbarians, which issued from the North, would soon be encountered from the South, by new swarms of Barbarians, equally fierce, and equally formidable. These gloomy terrors would indeed have been dispelled by a more intimate acquaintance with the character of their African enemies. The inaction of the negroes does not seem to be the effect, either of their virtue, or of their pusillanimity. They indulge, like the rest of mankind, their passions and appetites; and the adjacent tribes are engaged in frequent acts of hostility [131]. But their rude ignorance has never invented any effectual weapons of defence, or of destruction; they appear incapable of forming any extensive plans of government, or conquest; and the obvious inferiority of their mental faculties

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has been discovered and abused by the nations of the temperate zone. Sixty thousand blacks are annually embarked from the coast of Guinea, never to return to their native country; but they are embarked in chains [112]: and this constant emigration, which, in the space of two centuries, might have furnished armies to overrun the globe, accuses the guilt of Europe, and the weakness of Africa.

IV. The EAST. The Persian war, A. D. 365—378.

IV. The ignominious treaty, which saved the army of Jovian, had been faithfully executed on the side of the Romans: and as they had solemnly renounced the sovereignty and alliance of Armenia and Iberia, those tributary kingdoms were exposed, without protection, to the arms of the Persian monarch [113]. Sapor entered the Armenian territories at the head of a formidable host of cuirassiers, of archers, and of mercenary foot; but it was the invariable practice of Sapor to mix war and negociation, and to consider falsehood and perjury as the most powerful instruments of regal policy. He affected to praise the prudent and moderate conduct of the king of Armenia; and the unsuspicious Tiranus was persuaded, by the repeated assurances of insidious friendship, to deliver his person into the hands of a faithless and cruel enemy. In the midst of a splendid entertainment, he was bound in chains of silver, as an honour due to the blood of the Arsacides; and, after a short confinement in the Tower of Oblivion at Ecbatana, he was released from the miseries of life, either by his own dagger, or by

that of an aſſaſſin. The kingdom of Armenia was reduced to the ſtate of a Perſian province; the adminiſtration was ſhared between a diſtinguiſhed ſatrap and a favourite eunuch; and Sapor marched, without delay, to ſubdue the martial ſpirit of the Iberians. Sauromaces, who reigned in that country by the permiſſion of the emperors, was expelled by a ſuperior force; and, as an inſult on the majeſty of Rome, the king of kings placed a diadem on the head of his abject vaſſal Aſpacuras. The city of Artogeraſſa [134] was the only place of Armenia, which preſumed to reſiſt the effort of his arms. The treaſure depoſited in that ſtrong fortreſs tempted the avarice of Sapor; but the danger of Olympias, the wife, or widow, of the Armenian king, excited the public compaſſion, and animated the deſperate valour of her ſubjects and ſoldiers. The Perſians were ſurpriſed and repulſed under the walls of Artogeraſſa, by a bold and well-concerted ſally of the beſieged. But the forces of Sapor were continually renewed and increaſed; the hopeleſs courage of the garriſon was exhauſted; the ſtrength of the walls yielded to the aſſault; and the proud conqueror, after waſting the rebellious city with fire and ſword, led away captive an unfortunate queen; who, in a more auſpicious hour, had been the deſtined bride of the ſon of Conſtantine [135]. Yet if Sapor already triumphed in the eaſy conqueſt of two dependent kingdoms, he ſoon felt, that a country is unſubdued, as long as the minds of the people are actuated by an hoſtile and contumacious ſpirit.

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The ſatraps, whom he was obliged to truſt, embraced the firſt opportunity of regaining the affection of their countrymen, and of ſignaliſing their immortal hatred to the Perſian name. Since the converſion of the Armenians and Iberians, thoſe nations conſidered the Chriſtians as the favourites, and the Magians as the adverſaries, of the Supreme Being; the influence of the clergy, over a ſuperſtitious people, was uniformly exerted in the cauſe of Rome; and as long as the ſucceſſors of Conſtantine diſputed with thoſe of Artaxerxes the ſovereignty of the intermediate provinces, the religious connexion always threw a deciſive advantage into the ſcale of the empire. A numerous and active party acknowledged Para, the ſon of Tiranus, as the lawful ſovereign of Armenia; and his title to the throne was deeply rooted in the hereditary ſucceſſion of five hundred years. By the unanimous conſent of the Iberians, the country was equally divided between the rival princes; and Aſpacuras, who owed his diadem to the choice of Sapor, was obliged to declare, that his regard for his children, who were detained as hoſtages by the tyrant, was the only conſideration, which prevented him from openly renouncing the alliance of Perſia. The emperor Valens, who reſpected the obligations of the treaty, and who was apprehenſive of involving the Eaſt in a dangerous war, ventured, with ſlow and cautious meaſures, to ſupport the Roman party in the kingdoms of Iberia and Armenia. Twelve legions eſtabliſhed the authority of Sauromaces on the banks of the

Cyrus. The Euphrates was protected by the valour of Arintheus. A powerful army, under the command of count Trajan, and of Vadomair, king of the Alemanni, fixed their camp on the confines of Armenia. But they were ſtrictly enjoined, not to commit the firſt hoſtilities, which might be underſtood as a breach of the treaty: and ſuch was the implicit obedience of the Roman general, that they retreated, with exemplary patience, under a ſhower of Perſian arrows, till they had clearly acquired a juſt title to an honourable and legitimate victory. Yet theſe appearances of war inſenſibly ſubſided in a vain and tedious negociation. The contending parties ſupported their claims by mutual reproaches of perfidy and ambition; and it ſhould ſeem, that the original treaty was expreſſed in very obſcure terms, ſince they were reduced to the neceſſity of making their inconcluſive appeal to the partial teſtimony of the generals of the two nations, who had aſſiſted at the negociations [116]. The invaſion of the Goths and Huns, which ſoon afterwards ſhook the foundations of the Roman empire, expoſed the provinces of Aſia to the arms of Sapor. But the declining age, and perhaps the infirmities, of the monarch, ſuggeſted new maxims of tranquillity and moderation. His death, which happened in the full maturity of a reign of ſeventy years, changed in a moment the court and councils of Perſia; and their attention was moſt probably engaged by domeſtic troubles, and the diſtant efforts of a Carmanian war [117].

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The treaty of peace, A. D. 384.

The remembrance of ancient injuries was loſt in the enjoyment of peace. The kingdoms of Armenia and Iberia were permitted, by the mutual, though tacit, conſent of both empires, to reſume their doubtful neutrality. In the firſt years of the reign of Theodoſius, a Perſian embaſſy arrived at Conſtantinople, to excuſe the unjuſtifiable meaſures of the former reign; and to offer, as the tribute of friendſhip, or even of reſpect, a ſplendid preſent of gems, of ſilk, and of Indian elephants [138].

Adventures of Para, king of Armenia.

In the general picture of the affairs of the Eaſt under the reign of Valens, the adventures of Para form one of the moſt ſtriking and ſingular objects. The noble youth, by the perſuaſion of his mother Olympias, had eſcaped through the Perſian hoſt that beſieged Artogeraſſa, and implored the protection of the emperor of the Eaſt. By his timid councils, Para was alternately ſupported, and recalled, and reſtored, and betrayed. The hopes of the Armenians were ſometimes raiſed by the preſence of their natural ſovereign; and the miniſters of Valens were ſatisfied, that they preſerved the integrity of the public faith, if their vaſſal was not ſuffered to aſſume the diadem and title of King. But they ſoon repented of their own raſhneſs. They were confounded by the reproaches and threats of the Perſian monarch. They found reaſon to diſtruſt the cruel and inconſtant temper of Para himſelf: who ſacrificed, to the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions, the lives of his moſt faithful ſervants; and held a ſecret and

diſgraceful correſpondence with the aſſaſſin of his father, and the enemy of his country. Under the ſpecious pretence of conſulting with the emperor on the ſubject of their common intereſt, Para was perſuaded to deſcend from the mountains of Armenia, where his party was in arms, and to truſt his independence and ſafety to the diſcretion of a perfidious court. The king of Armenia, for ſuch he appeared in his own eyes and in thoſe of his nation, was received with due honours by the governors of the provinces through which he paſſed; but when he arrived at Tarſus in Cilicia, his progreſs was ſtopped under various pretences; his motions were watched with reſpectful vigilance; and he gradually diſcovered, that he was a priſoner in the hands of the Romans. Para ſuppreſſed his indignation, diſſembled his fears, and, after ſecretly preparing his eſcape, mounted on horſeback with three hundred of his faithful followers. The officer ſtationed at the door of his apartment immediately communicated his flight to the conſular of Cilicia, who overtook him in the ſuburbs, and endeavoured, without ſucceſs, to diſſuade him from proſecuting his raſh and dangerous deſign. A legion was ordered to purſue the royal fugitive; but the purſuit of infantry could not be very alarming to a body of light cavalry; and upon the firſt cloud of arrows that was diſcharged into the air, they retreated with precipitation to the gates of Tarſus. After an inceſſant march of two days and two nights, Para and his Armenians

CHAP. XXV. reached the banks of the Euphrates; but the paſſage of the river, which they were obliged to ſwim, was attended with ſome delay and ſome loſs. The country was alarmed; and the two roads, which were only ſeparated by an interval of three miles, had been occupied by a thouſand archers on horſeback, under the command of a count and a tribune. Para muſt have yielded to ſuperior force, if the accidental arrival of a friendly traveller had not revealed the danger, and the means of eſcape. A dark and almoſt impervious path ſecurely conveyed the Armenian troop through the thicket; and Para had left behind him the count and the tribune, while they patiently expected his approach along the public highways. They returned to the Imperial court to excuſe their want of diligence or ſucceſs: and ſeriouſly alleged, that the king of Armenia, who was a ſkilful magician, had transformed himſelf and his followers, and paſſed before their eyes under a borrowed ſhape. After his return to his native kingdom, Para ſtill continued to profeſs himſelf the friend and ally of the Romans; but the Romans had injured him too deeply ever to forgive, and the ſecret ſentence of his death was ſigned in the council of Valens. The execution of the bloody deed was committed to the ſubtle prudence of Count Trajan; and he had the merit of inſinuating himſelf into the confidence of the credulous prince, that he might find an opportunity of ſtabbing him to the heart. Para was invited to a Roman banquet, which had been prepared

prepared with all the pomp and ſenſuality of the East: the hall reſounded with cheerful muſic, and the company was already heated with wine; when the count retired for an inſtant, drew his ſword, and gave the ſignal of the murder. A robuſt and deſperate Barbarian inſtantly ruſhed on the king of Armenia, and though he bravely defended his life with the firſt weapon that chance offered to his hand, the table of the Imperial general was ſtained with the royal blood of a gueſt, and an ally. Such were the weak and wicked maxims of the Roman adminiſtration, that, to attain a doubtful object of political intereſt, the laws of nations, and the ſacred rights of hoſpitality, were inhumanly violated in the face of the world [139]. CHAP. XXV. A. D. 374.

V. During a peaceful interval of thirty years, the Romans ſecured their frontiers, and the Goths extended their dominions. The victories of the great Hermanric [140], king of the Oſtrogoths, and the moſt noble of the race of the Amali, have been compared, by the enthuſiaſm of his countrymen, to the exploits of Alexander: with this ſingular, and almoſt incredible, difference, that the martial ſpirit of the Gothic hero, inſtead of being ſupported by the vigour of youth, was diſplayed with glory and ſucceſs in the extreme period of human life; between the age of fourſcore and one hundred and ten years. The independent tribes were perſuaded, or compelled, to acknowledge the king of the Oſtrogoths as the ſovereign of the Gothic nation: the chiefs of the Viſigoths, V. THE DANUBE. Conqueſts of Hermanric.

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or Thervingi, renounced the royal title, and assumed the more humble appellation of *Judges*: and, among those judges, Athanaric, Fritigern, and Alavivus, were the most illustrious, by their personal merit, as well as by their vicinity to the Roman provinces. These domestic conquests, which increased the military power of Hermanric, enlarged his ambitious designs. He invaded the adjacent countries of the North; and twelve considerable nations, whose names and limits cannot be accurately defined, successively yielded to the superiority of the Gothic arms [141]. The Heruli, who inhabited the marshy lands near the lake Mæotis, were renowned for their strength and agility; and the assistance of their light infantry was eagerly solicited, and highly esteemed, in all the wars of the Barbarians. But the active spirit of the Heruli was subdued by the slow and steady perseverance of the Goths; and, after a bloody action, in which the king was slain, the remains of that warlike tribe became an useful accession to the camp of Hermanric. He then marched against the Venedi; unskilled in the use of arms, and formidable only by their numbers, which filled the wide extent of the plains of modern Poland. The victorious Goths, who were not inferior in numbers, prevailed in the contest, by the decisive advantages of exercise and discipline. After the submission of the Venedi, the conqueror advanced, without resistance, as far as the confines of the Æstii [142]; an ancient people, whose name is still preserved in the province of Esthonia.

Thoſe diſtant inhabitants of the Baltic coaſt were ſupported by the labours of agriculture, enriched by the trade of amber, and conſecrated by the peculiar worſhip of the Mother of the Gods. But the ſcarcity of iron obliged the Æſtian warriors to content themſelves with wooden clubs; and the reduction of that wealthy country is aſcribed to the prudence, rather than to the arms, of Hermanric. His dominions, which extended from the Danube to the Baltic, included the native ſeats, and the recent acquiſitions, of the Goths; and he reigned over the greateſt part of Germany and Scythia with the authority of a conqueror, and ſometimes with the cruelty of a tyrant. But he reigned over a part of the globe incapable of perpetuating and adorning the glory of its heroes: The name of Hermanric is almoſt buried in oblivion; his exploits are imperfectly known; and the Romans themſelves appeared unconſcious of the progreſs of an aſpiring power, which threatened the liberty of the North, and the peace of the empire [141].

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The cauſe of the Gothic war. A. D. 366.

The Goths had contracted an hereditary attachment for the Imperial houſe of Conſtantine, of whoſe power and liberality they had received ſo many ſignal proofs. They reſpected the public peace: and if an hoſtile band ſometimes preſumed to paſs the Roman limit, their irregular conduct was candidly aſcribed to the ungovernable ſpirit of the Barbarian youth. Their contempt for two new and obſcure princes, who had been raiſed to the throne by a popular election,

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inſpired the Goths with bolder hopes; and, while they agitated ſome deſign of marching their confederate force under the national ſtandard [144], they were eaſily tempted to embrace the party of Procopius; and to foment, by their dangerous aid, the civil diſcord of the Romans. The public treaty might ſtipulate no more than ten thouſand auxiliaries: but the deſign was ſo zealouſly adopted by the chiefs of the Viſigoths, that the army which paſſed the Danube amounted to the number of thirty thouſand men [145]. They marched with the proud confidence, that their invincible valour would decide the fate of the Roman empire; and the provinces of Thrace groaned under the weight of the Barbarians, who diſplayed the inſolence of maſters, and the licentiouſneſs of enemies. But the intemperance which gratified their appetites, retarded their progreſs; and before the Goths could receive any certain intelligence of the defeat and death of Procopius, they perceived, by the hoſtile ſtate of the country, that the civil and military powers were reſumed by his ſucceſsful rival. A chain of poſts and fortifications, ſkilfully diſpoſed by Valens, or the generals of Valens, reſiſted their march, prevented their retreat, and intercepted their ſubſiſtence. The fierceneſs of the Barbarians was tamed and ſuſpended by hunger: they indignantly threw down their arms at the feet of the conqueror, who offered them food and chains: the numerous captives were diſtributed in all the cities of the Eaſt; and the provincials, who were ſoon

familiarized with their ſavage appearance, ventured, by degrees, to meaſure their own ſtrength with theſe formidable adverſaries, whoſe name had ſo long been the object of their terror. The king of Scythia (and Hermanric alone could deſerve ſo lofty a title) was grieved and exaſperated by this national calamity. His ambaſſadors loudly complained, at the court of Valens, of the infraction of the ancient and ſolemn alliance, which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the Romans and the Goths. They alleged, that they had fulfilled the duty of allies, by aſſiſting the kinſman and ſucceſſor of the emperor Julian; they required the immediate reſtitution of the noble captives; and they urged a very ſingular claim, that the Gothic generals, marching in arms, and in hoſtile array, were entitled to the ſacred character and privileges of ambaſſadors. The decent, but peremptory, refuſal of theſe extravagant demands, was ſignified to the Barbarians by Victor, maſter-general of the cavalry; who expreſſed, with force and dignity, the juſt complaints of the Emperor of the Eaſt [146]. The negociation was interrupted; and the manly exhortations of Valentinian encouraged his timid brother to vindicate the inſulted majeſty of the empire [147].

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The ſplendour and magnitude of this Gothic war are celebrated by a contemporary hiſtorian [148]: but the events ſcarcely deſerve the attention of poſterity, except as the preliminary ſteps of the approaching decline and fall of the empire. Inſtead of leading the nations of Germany and Scythia to

Hoſtilities, and peace, A. D. 367, 368, 369.

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the banks of the Danube, or even to the gates of Conſtantinople, the aged monarch of the Goths reſigned to the brave Athanaric the danger and glory of a defenſive war, againſt an enemy, who wielded with a feeble hand the powers of a mighty ſtate. A bridge of boats was eſtabliſhed upon the Danube; the preſence of Valens animated his troops; and his ignorance of the art of war was compenſated by perſonal bravery, and a wiſe deference to the advice of Victor and Arintheus, his maſters-general of the cavalry and infantry. The operations of the campaign were conducted by their ſkill and experience; but they found it impoſſible to drive the Viſigoths from their ſtrong poſts in the mountains: and the devaſtation of the plains obliged the Romans themſelves to repaſs the Danube on the approach of winter. The inceſſant rains, which ſwelled the waters of the river, produced a tacit ſuſpenſion of arms, and confined the emperor Valens, during the whole courſe of the enſuing ſummer, to his camp of Marcianopolis. The third year of the war was more favourable to the Romans, and more pernicious to the Goths. The interruption of trade deprived the Barbarians of the objects of luxury, which they already confounded with the neceſſaries of life; and the deſolation of a very extenſive tract of country threatened them with the horrors of famine. Athanaric was provoked, or compelled, to riſk a battle, which he loſt, in the plains; and the purſuit was rendered more bloody by the cruel precaution of the

victorious generals, who had promiſed a large reward for the head of every Goth, that was brought into the Imperial camp. The ſubmiſſion of the Barbarians appeaſed the reſentment of Valens and his council; the emperor liſtened with ſatisfaction to the flattering and eloquent remonſtrance of the ſenate of Conſtantinople, which aſſumed, for the firſt time, a ſhare in the public deliberations; and the ſame generals, Victor and Arintheus, who had ſucceſsfully directed the conduct of the war, were empowered to regulate the conditions of peace. The freedom of trade, which the Goths had hitherto enjoyed, was reſtricted to two cities on the Danube; the raſhneſs of their leaders was ſeverely puniſhed by the ſuppreſſion of their penſions and ſubſidies; and the exception which was ſtipulated in favour of Athanaric alone, was more advantageous than honourable to the Judge of the Viſigoths. Athanaric, who, on this occaſion, appears to have conſulted his private intereſt, without expecting the orders of his ſovereign, ſupported his own dignity, and that of his tribe, in the perſonal interview which was propoſed by the miniſters of Valens. He perſiſted in his declaration, that it was impoſſible for him, without incurring the guilt of perjury, ever to ſet his foot on the territory of the empire; and it is more than probable, that his regard for the ſanctity of an oath was confirmed by the recent and fatal examples of Roman treachery. The Danube, which ſeparated the dominions of the two independent nations, was choſen for the ſcene

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of the conference. The Emperor of the Eaſt, and the judge of the Viſigoths, accompanied by an equal number of armed followers, advanced in their reſpective barges to the middle of the ſtream. After the ratification of the treaty, and the delivery of hoſtages, Valens returned in triumph to Conſtantinople; and the Goths remained in a ſtate of tranquillity about ſix years; till they were violently impelled againſt the Roman empire, by an innumerable hoſt of Scythians, who appeared to iſſue from the frozen regions of the North [149].

War of the Quadi and Sarmatians, A. D. 374.

The Emperor of the Weſt, who had reſigned to his brother the command of the Lower Danube, reſerved for his immediate care the defence of the Rhætian and Illyrian provinces, which ſpread ſo many hundred miles along the greateſt of the European rivers. The active policy of Valentinian was continually employed in adding new fortifications to the ſecurity of the frontier; but the abuſe of this policy provoked the juſt reſentment of the Barbarians. The Quadi complained, that the ground for an intended fortreſs had been marked out on their territories; and their complaints were urged with ſo much reaſon and moderation, that Equitius, maſter-general of Illyricum, conſented to ſuſpend the proſecution of the work, till he ſhould be more clearly informed of the will of his ſovereign. This fair occaſion of injuring a rival, and of advancing the fortune of his ſon, was eagerly embraced by the inhuman Maximin, the præfect, or rather tyrant, of Gaul. The paſſions of Valentinian were impatient

of controul; and he credulouſly liſtened to the aſſurances of his favourite, that if the government of Valeria, and the direction of the work, were entruſted to the zeal of his ſon Marcellinus, the emperor ſhould no longer be importuned with the audacious remonſtrances of the Barbarians. The ſubjects of Rome, and the natives of Germany, were inſulted by the arrogance of a young and worthleſs miniſter, who conſidered his rapid elevation as the proof and reward of his ſuperior merit. He affected, however, to receive the modeſt application of Gabinius, king of the Quadi, with ſome attention and regard: but this artful civility concealed a dark and bloody deſign, and the credulous prince was perſuaded to accept the preſſing invitation of Marcellinus. I am at a loſs how to vary the narrative of ſimilar crimes; or how to relate, that in the courſe of the ſame year, but in remote parts of the empire, the inhoſpitable table of two Imperial generals was ſtained with the royal blood of two gueſts and allies, inhumanly murdered by their order, and in their preſence. The fate of Gabinius, and of Para, was the ſame: but the cruel death of their ſovereign was reſented in a very different manner by the ſervile temper of the Armenians, and the free and daring ſpirit of the Germans. The Quadi were much declined from that formidable power, which, in the time of Marcus Antoninus, had ſpread terror to the gates of Rome. But they ſtill poſſeſſed arms and courage; their courage was animated by

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deſpair, and they obtained the uſual reinforcement of the cavalry of their Sarmatian allies. So improvident was the aſſaſſin Marcellinus, that he choſe the moment when the braveſt veterans had been drawn away, to ſuppreſs the revolt of Firmus; and the whole province was expoſed, with a very feeble defence, to the rage of the exaſperated Barbarians. They invaded Pannonia in the ſeaſon of harveſt; unmercifully deſtroyed every object of plunder which they could not eaſily tranſport; and either diſregarded, or demoliſhed, the empty fortifications. The princeſs Conſtantia, the daughter of the emperor Conſtantius, and the grand-daughter of the great Conſtantine, very narrowly eſcaped. That royal maid, who had innocently ſupported the revolt of Procopius, was now the deſtined wife of the heir of the Weſtern empire. She traverſed the peaceful province with a ſplendid and unarmed train. Her perſon was ſaved from danger, and the republic from diſgrace, by the active zeal of Meſſala, governor of the provinces. As ſoon as he was informed that the village, where ſhe ſtopped only to dine, was almoſt encompaſſed by the Barbarians, he haſtily placed her in his own chariot, and drove full ſpeed till he reached the gates of Sirmium, which were at the diſtance of ſix and twenty miles. Even Sirmium might not have been ſecure, if the Quadi and Sarmatians had diligently advanced during the general conſternation of the magiſtrates and people. Their delay allowed Probus, the Prætorian præfect, ſufficient time to recover

his own ſpirits, and to revive the courage of the citizens. He ſkilfully directed their ſtrenuous efforts to repair and ſtrengthen the decayed fortifications; and procured the ſeaſonable and effectual aſſiſtance of a company of archers, to protect the capital of the Illyrian provinces. Diſappointed in their attempts againſt the walls of Sirmium, the indignant Barbarians turned their arms againſt the maſter-general of the frontier, to whom they unjuſtly attributed the murder of their king. Equitius could bring into the field no more than two legions; but they contained the veteran ſtrength of the Mæſian and Pannonian bands. The obſtinacy with which they diſputed the vain honours of rank and precedency, was the cauſe of their deſtruction; and, while they acted with ſeparate forces and divided councils, they were ſurpriſed and ſlaughtered by the active vigour of the Sarmatian horſe. The ſucceſs of this invaſion provoked the emulation of the bordering tribes; and the province of Mæſia would infallibly have been loſt, if young Theodoſius, the duke, or military commander, of the frontier, had not ſignaliſed, in the defeat of the public enemy, an intrepid genius, worthy of his illuſtrious father, and of his future greatneſs [110]. CHAP. XXV.

The mind of Valentinian, who then reſided at Treves, was deeply affected by the calamities of Illyricum; but the lateneſs of the ſeaſon ſuſpended the execution of his deſigns till the enſuing ſpring. He marched in perſon, with a conſiderable part of the forces of Gaul, from the The expedition, A.D. 375.

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banks of the Moſelle: and to the ſuppliant ambaſſadors of the Sarmatians, who met him on the way, he returned a doubtful anſwer, that, as ſoon as he reached the ſcene of action, he ſhould examine, and pronounce. When he arrived at Sirmium, he gave audience to the deputies of the Illyrian provinces; who loudly congratulated their own felicity under the auſpicious government of Probus, his Prætorian præfect [151]. Valentinian, who was flattered by theſe demonſtrations of their loyalty and gratitude, imprudently aſked the deputy of Epirus, a Cynic philoſopher of intrepid ſincerity [152], whether he was freely ſent by the wiſhes of the province? "With "tears and groans am I ſent (replied Iphicles) "by a reluctant people." The emperor pauſed: but the impunity of his miniſters eſtabliſhed the pernicious maxim, that they might oppreſs his ſubjects, without injuring his ſervice. A ſtrict inquiry into their conduct would have relieved the public diſcontent. The ſevere condemnation of the murder of Gabinius, was the only meaſure which could reſtore the confidence of the Germans, and vindicate the honour of the Roman name. But the haughty monarch was incapable of the magnanimity which dares to acknowledge a fault. He forgot the provocation, remembered only the injury, and advanced into the country of the Quadi with an inſatiate thirſt of blood and revenge. The extreme devaſtation, and promiſcuous maſſacre, of a ſavage war, were juſtified, in the eyes of the emperor, and perhaps in thoſe

of the world, by the cruel equity of retaliation [111]: and ſuch was the diſcipline of the Romans, and the conſternation of the enemy, that Valentinian repaſſed the Danube without the loſs of a ſingle man. As he had reſolved to complete the deſtruction of the Quadi by a ſecond campaign, he fixed his winter-quarters at Bregetio, on the Danube, near the Hungarian city of Preſburgh. While the operations of war were ſuſpended by the ſeverity of the weather, the Quadi made an humble attempt to deprecate the wrath of their conqueror; and, at the earneſt perſuaſion of Equitius, their ambaſſadors were introduced into the Imperial council. They approached the throne with bended bodies, and dejected countenances; and, without daring to complain of the murder of their king, they affirmed, with ſolemn oaths, that the late invaſion was the crime of ſome irregular robbers, which the public council of the nation condemned and abhorred. The anſwer of the emperor left them but little to hope from his clemency or compaſſion. He reviled, in the moſt intemperate language, their baſeneſs, their ingratitude, their inſolence.—His eyes, his voice, his colour, his geſtures, expreſſed the violence of his ungoverned fury; and, while his whole frame was agitated with convulſive paſſion, a large blood-veſſel ſuddenly burſt in his body; and Valentinian fell ſpeechleſs into the arms of his attendants. Their pious care immediately concealed his ſituation from the crowd: but, in a few minutes, the emperor of the Weſt expired in an agony of pain, retaining

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and death, of Valentinian.

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his ſenſes till the laſt; and ſtruggling, without ſucceſs, to declare his intentions to the generals and miniſters, who ſurrounded the royal couch. Valentinian was about fifty-four years of age; and he wanted only one hundred days to accompliſh the twelve years of his reign [154].

A. D. 375. Nov. 17th.

The emperors Gratian, and Valentinian II.

The polygamy of Valentinian is ſeriouſly atteſted by an eccleſiaſtical hiſtorian [155]. "The "empreſs Severa (I relate the fable) admitted "into her familiar ſociety the lovely Juſtina, "the daughter of an Italian governor: her ad- "miration of thoſe naked charms, which ſhe "had often ſeen in the bath, was expreſſed with "ſuch laviſh and imprudent praiſe, that the "emperor was tempted to introduce a ſecond "wife into his bed; and his public edict ex- "tended to all the ſubjects of the empire, the "ſame domeſtic privilege, which he had aſſumed "for himſelf." But we may be aſſured, from the evidence of reaſon, as well as hiſtory, that the two marriages of Valentinian, with Severa, and with Juſtina, were *ſucceſſively* contracted; and that he uſed the ancient permiſſion of divorce, which was ſtill allowed by the laws, though it was condemned by the church. Severa was the mother of Gratian, who ſeemed to unite every claim which could entitle him to the undoubted ſucceſſion of the Weſtern empire. He was the eldeſt ſon of a monarch, whoſe glorious reign had confirmed the free and honourable choice of his fellow-ſoldiers Before he had attained the ninth year of his age, the royal youth received from the hands of his

indulgent father the purple robe and diadem, with the title of Auguſtus: the election was ſolemnly ratified by the conſent and applauſe of the armies of Gaul [115]; and the name of Gratian was added to the names of Valentinian and Valens, in all the legal tranſactions of the Roman government. By his marriage with the grand-daughter of Conſtantine, the ſon of Valentinian acquired all the hereditary rights of the Flavian family; which, in a ſeries of three Imperial generations, were ſanctified by time, religion, and the reverence of the people. At the death of his father, the royal youth was in the ſeventeenth year of his age; and his virtues already juſtified the favourable opinion of the army and people. But Gratian reſided, without apprehenſion, in the palace of Treves; whilſt, at the diſtance of many hundred miles, Valentinian ſuddenly expired in the camp of Bregetio. The paſſions, which had been ſo long ſuppreſſed by the preſence of a maſter, immediately revived in the Imperial council; and the ambitious deſign of reigning in the name of an infant, was artfully executed by Mellobaudes and Equitius, who commanded the attachment of the Illyrian and Italian bands. They contrived the moſt honourable pretences to remove the popular leaders, and the troops of Gaul, who might have aſſerted the claims of the lawful ſucceſſor: they ſuggeſted the neceſſity of extinguiſhing the hopes of foreign and domeſtic enemies, by a bold and deciſive meaſure. The empreſs Juſtina, who had been left in a palace about one hundred miles from Bregetio,

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was reſpectfully invited to appear in the camp, with the ſon of the deceaſed emperor. On the ſixth day after the death of Valentinian, the infant prince of the ſame name, who was only four years old, was ſhewn, in the arms of his mother, to the legions; and ſolemnly inveſted, by military acclamation, with the titles and enſigns of ſupreme power. The impending dangers of a civil war were ſeaſonably prevented by the wiſe and moderate conduct of the emperor Gratian. He cheerfully accepted the choice of the army, declared, that he ſhould always conſider the ſon of Juſtina as a brother, not as a rival; and adviſed the empreſs, with her ſon Valentinian, to fix their reſidence at Milan, in the fair and peaceful province of Italy; while he aſſumed the more arduous command of the countries beyond the Alps. Gratian diſſembled his reſentment till he could ſafely puniſh, or diſgrace, the authors of the conſpiracy; and though he uniformly behaved with tenderneſs and regard to his infant colleague, he gradually confounded, in the adminiſtration of the Weſtern empire, the office of a guardian with the authority of a ſovereign. The government of the Roman world was exerciſed in the united names of Valens and his two nephews; but the feeble Emperor of the Eaſt, who ſucceeded to the rank of his elder brother, never obtained any weight or influence in the councils of the Weſt [157].

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Manners of the Paſtoral Nations. — Progreſs of the Huns, from China to Europe. — Flight of the Goths. — They paſs the Danube. — Gothic War. — Defeat and Death of Valens. — Gratian inveſts Theodoſius with the Eaſtern Empire. — His Character and Succeſs. — Peace and Settlement of the Goths.

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Earthquakes, A. D. 365, July 21ſt.

In the ſecond year of the reign of Valentinian and Valens, on the morning of the twenty-firſt day of July, the greateſt part of the Roman world was ſhaken by a violent and deſtructive earthquake. The impreſſion was communicated to the waters; the ſhores of the Mediterranean were left dry, by the ſudden retreat of the ſea; great quantities of fiſh were caught with the hand; large veſſels were ſtranded on the mud; and a curious ſpectator amuſed his eye, or rather his fancy, by contemplating the various appearance of vallies and mountains, which had never, ſince the formation of the globe, been expoſed to the ſun. But the tide ſoon returned, with the weight of an immenſe and irreſiſtible deluge, which was ſeverely felt on the coaſts of Sicily, of Dalmatia, of Greece, and of Egypt: large boats were tranſported, and lodged on the roofs of houſes, or

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at the diſtance of two miles from the ſhore; the people, with their habitations, were ſwept away by the waters; and the city of Alexandria annually commemorated the fatal day, on which fifty thouſand perſons had loſt their lives in the inundation. This calamity, the report of which was magnified from one province to another, aſtoniſhed and terrified the ſubjects of Rome, and their affrighted imagination enlarged the real extent of a momentary evil. They recollected the preceding earthquakes, which had ſubverted the cities of Paleſtine and Bithynia: they conſidered theſe alarming ſtrokes as the prelude only of ſtill more dreadful calamities, and their fearful vanity was diſpoſed to confound the ſymptoms of a declining empire, and a ſinking world [2]. It was the faſhion of the times, to attribute every remarkable event to the particular will of the Deity; the alterations of nature were connected, by an inviſible chain, with the moral and metaphyſical opinions of the human mind; and the moſt ſagacious divines could diſtinguiſh, according to the colour of their reſpective prejudices, that the eſtabliſhment of hereſy tended to produce an earthquake; or that a deluge was the inevitable conſequence of the progreſs of ſin and error. Without preſuming to diſcuſs the truth or propriety of theſe lofty ſpeculations, the hiſtorian may content himſelf with an obſervation, which ſeems to be juſtified by experience, that man has much more to fear from the paſſions of his fellow-creatures, than from the convulſions

of the elements [3]. The miſchievous effects of an earthquake, or deluge, a hurricane, or the eruption of a volcano, bear a very inconſiderable proportion to the ordinary calamities of war; as they are now moderated by the prudence or humanity of the princes of Europe, who amuſe their own leiſure, and exerciſe the courage of their ſubjects, in the practice of the military art. But the laws and manners of modern nations protect the ſafety and freedom of the vanquiſhed ſoldier; and the peaceful citizen has ſeldom reaſon to complain, that his life, or even his fortune, is expoſed to the rage of war. In the diſaſtrous period of the fall of the Roman empire, which may juſtly be dated from the reign of Valens, the happineſs and ſecurity of each individual were perſonally attacked; and the arts and labours of ages were rudely defaced by the Barbarians of Scythia and Germany. The invaſion of the Huns precipitated on the provinces of the Weſt the Gothic nation, which advanced, in leſs than forty years, from the Danube to the Atlantic, and opened a way, by the ſucceſs of their arms, to the inroads of ſo many hoſtile tribes, more ſavage than themſelves. The original principle of motion was conceaſed in the remote countries of the North; and the curious obſervation of the paſtoral life of the Scythians [4], or Tartars [5], will illuſtrate the latent cauſe of theſe deſtructive emigrations.

The Huns and Goths, A. D. 376.

The different characters that mark the civiliſed nations of the globe, may be aſcribed to the uſe, and the abuſe, of reaſon; which ſo variouſly

The paſtoral manners of the Scythians, or Tartars.

CHAP. XXVI. ſhapes, and ſo artificially compoſes, the manners and opinions of an European, or a Chineſe. But the operation of inſtinct is more ſure and ſimple than that of reaſon: it is much eaſier to aſcertain the appetites of a quadruped, than the ſpeculations of a philoſopher; and the ſavage tribes of mankind, as they approach nearer to the condition of animals, preſerve a ſtronger reſemblance to themſelves and to each other. The uniform ſtability of their manners, is the natural conſequence of the imperfection of their faculties. Reduced to a ſimilar ſituation, their wants, their deſires, their enjoyments, ſtill continue the ſame: and the influence of food or climate, which, in a more improved ſtate of ſociety, is ſuſpended, or ſubdued, by ſo many moral cauſes, moſt powerfully contributes to form, and to maintain, the national character of Barbarians. In every age, the immenſe plains of Scythia, or Tartary, have been inhabited by vagrant tribes of hunters and ſhepherds, whoſe indolence refuſes to cultivate the earth, and whoſe reſtleſs ſpirit diſdains the confinement of a ſedentary life. In every age, the Scythians, and Tartars, have been renowned for their invincible courage, and rapid conqueſts. The thrones of Aſia have been repeatedly overturned by the ſhepherds of the North; and their arms have ſpread terror and devaſtation over the moſt fertile and warlike countries of Europe [c]. On this occaſion, as well as on many others, the ſober

hiſtorian is forcibly awakened from a pleaſing viſion; and is compelled, with ſome reluctance, to confeſs, that the paſtoral manners, which have been adorned with the faireſt attributes of peace and innocence, are much better adapted to the fierce and cruel habits of a military life. To illuſtrate this obſervation, I ſhall now proceed to conſider a nation of ſhepherds and of warriors, in the three important articles of, I. Their diet; II. Their habitation; and, III. Their exerciſes. The narratives of antiquity are juſtified by the experience of modern times [7], and the banks of the Boryſthenes, of the Volga, or of the Selinga, will indifferently preſent the ſame uniform ſpectacle of ſimilar and native manners [8].

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I. The corn, or even the rice, which conſtitutes the ordinary and wholeſome food of a civiliſed people, can be obtained only by the patient toil of the huſbandman. Some of the happy ſavages, who dwell between the tropics, are plentifully nouriſhed by the liberality of nature; but in the climates of the North, a nation of ſhepherds is reduced to their flocks and herds. The ſkilful practitioners of the medical art will determine (if they are able to determine) how far the temper of the human mind may be affected by the uſe of animal, or of vegetable, food; and whether the common aſſociation of carnivorous and cruel, deſerves to be conſidered in any other light than that of an innocent, perhaps a ſalutary, prejudice of humanity [9]. Yet if it be true, that the ſentiment of compaſſion is imperceptibly

Diet.

CHAP. XXVI. weakened by the ſight and practice of domeſtic cruelty, we may obſerve, that the horrid objects which are diſguiſed by the arts of European refinement, are exhibited in their naked and moſt diſguſting ſimplicity, in the tent of a Tartarian ſhepherd. The ox, or the ſheep, are ſlaughtered by the ſame hand from which they were accuſtomed to receive their daily food; and the bleeding limbs are ſerved, with very little preparation, on the table of their unfeeling murderer. In the military profeſſion, and eſpecially in the conduct of a numerous army the excluſive uſe of animal food appears to be productive of the moſt ſolid advantages. Corn is a bulky and periſhable commodity; and the large magazines, which are indiſpenſably neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of our troops, muſt be ſlowly tranſported by the labour of men, or horſes. But the flocks and herds, which accompany the march of the Tartars, afford a ſure and encreaſing ſupply of fleſh and milk: in the far greater part of the uncultivated waſte, the vegetation of the graſs is quick and luxuriant; and there are few places ſo extremely barren, that the hardy cattle of the North cannot find ſome tolerable paſture. The ſupply is multiplied and prolonged, by the undiſtinguiſhing appetite, and patient abſtinence, of the Tartars. They indifferently feed on the fleſh of thoſe animals that have been killed for the table, or have died of diſeaſe. Horſe-fleſh, which in every age and country has been proſcribed by the civiliſed nations of Europe and

Aſia, they devour with peculiar greedineſs; and this ſingular taſte facilitates the ſucceſs of their military operations. The active cavalry of Scythia is always followed; in their moſt diſtant and rapid incurſions, by an adequate number of ſpare horſes, who may be occaſionally uſed, either to redouble the ſpeed, or to ſatisfy the hunger, of the Barbarians. Many are the reſources of courage and poverty. When the forage round a camp of Tartars is almoſt conſumed, they ſlaughter the greateſt part of their cattle, and preſerve the fleſh, either ſmoked, or dried in the ſun. On the ſudden emergency of a haſty march, they provide themſelves with a ſufficient quantity of little balls of cheeſe, or rather of hard curd, which they occaſionally diſſolve in water; and this unſubſtantial diet will ſupport, for many days, the life, and even the ſpirits, of the patient warrior. But this extraordinary abſtinence, which the Stoic would approve, and the hermit might envy, is commonly ſucceeded by the moſt voracious indulgence of appetite. The wines of a happier climate are the moſt grateful preſent, or the moſt valuable commodity, that can be offered to the Tartars; and the only example of their induſtry ſeems to conſiſt in the art of extracting from mare's milk a fermented liquor, which poſſeſſes a very ſtrong power of intoxication. Like the animals of prey, the ſavages, both of the old and new world, experience the alternate viciſſitudes of famine and plenty; and their ſtomach is inured to ſuſtain,

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without much inconvenience, the oppoſite extremes of hunger and of intemperance.

Habitations.

II. In the ages of ruſtic and martial ſimplicity, a people of ſoldiers and huſbandmen are diſperſed over the face of an extenſive and cultivated country; and ſome time muſt elapſe before the warlike youth of Greece or Italy could be aſſembled under the ſame ſtandard, either to defend their own confines, or to invade the territories of the adjacent tribes. The progreſs of manufactures and commerce inſenſibly collects a large multitude within the walls of a city; but theſe citizens are no longer ſoldiers; and the arts which adorn and improve the ſtate of civil ſociety, corrupt the habits of the military life. The paſtoral manners of the Scythians ſeem to unite the different advantages of ſimplicity and refinement. The individuals of the ſame tribe are conſtantly aſſembled, but they are aſſembled in a camp; and the native ſpirit of theſe dauntleſs ſhepherds is animated by mutual ſupport and emulation. The houſes of the Tartars are no more than ſmall tents, of an oval form, which afford a cold and dirty habitation, for the promiſcuous youth of both ſexes. The palaces of the rich conſiſt of wooden huts, of ſuch a ſize that they may be conveniently fixed on large waggons, and drawn by a team perhaps of twenty or thirty oxen. The flocks and herds, after grazing all day in the adjacent paſtures, retire, on the approach of night, within the protection of the camp. The neceſſity of preventing the moſt miſchievous confuſion, in

ſuch a perpetual concourſe of men and animals, muſt gradually introduce, in the diſtribution, the order, and the guard, of the encampment, the rudiments of the military art. As ſoon as the forage of a certain diſtrict is conſumed, the tribe, or rather army, of ſhepherds, makes a regular march to ſome freſh paſtures; and thus acquires, in the ordinary occupations of the paſtoral life, the practical knowledge of one of the moſt important and difficult operations of war. The choice of ſtations is regulated by the difference of the ſeaſons: in the ſummer, the Tartars advance towards the North, and pitch their tents on the banks of a river, or, at leaſt, in the neighbourhood of a running ſtream. But in the winter they return to the South, and ſhelter their camp, behind ſome convenient eminence, againſt the winds, which are chilled in their paſſage over the bleak and icy regions of Siberia. Theſe manners are admirably adapted to diffuſe, among the wandering tribes, the ſpirit of emigration and conqueſt. The connection between the people and their territory is of ſo frail a texture, that it may be broken by the ſlighteſt accident. The camp, and not the ſoil, is the native country of the genuine Tartar. Within the precincts of that camp, his family, his companions, his property are always included; and, in the moſt diſtant marches, he is ſtill ſurrounded by the objects which are dear, or valuable, or familiar in his eyes. The thirſt of rapine, the fear, or the reſentment of injury, the impatience of

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ſervitude, have, in every age, been ſufficient cauſes to urge the tribes of Scythia boldly to advance into ſome unknown countries, where they might hope to find a more plentiful ſubſiſtence, or a leſs formidable enemy. The revolutions of the North have frequently determined the fate of the South; and in the conflict of hoſtile nations, the victor and the vanquiſhed have alternately drove, and been driven, from the confines of China to thoſe of Germany [10]. Theſe great emigrations, which have been ſometimes executed with almoſt incredible diligence, were rendered more eaſy by the peculiar nature of the climate. It is well known, that the cold of Tartary is much more ſevere than in the midſt of the temperate zone might reaſonably be expected: this uncommon rigour is attributed to the height of the plains, which riſe, eſpecially towards the Eaſt, more than half a mile above the level of the ſea; and to the quantity of ſalpetre, with which the ſoil is deeply impregnated [11]. In the winter-ſeaſon, the broad and rapid rivers, that diſcharge their waters into the Euxine, the Caſpian, or the Icy Sea, are ſtrongly frozen; the fields are covered with a bed of ſnow; and the fugitive, or victorious, tribes may ſecurely traverſe, with their families, their waggons, and their cattle, the ſmooth and hard ſurface of an immenſe plain.

Exerciſes.

III. The paſtoral life, compared with the labours of agriculture and manufactures, is undoubtedly a life of idleneſs; and as the moſt honourable

ſhepherds of the Tartar race devolve on their captives the domeſtic management of the cattle, their own leiſure is ſeldom diſturbed by any ſervile and aſſiduous cares; but this leiſure, inſtead of being devoted to the ſoft enjoyments of love and harmony, is uſefully ſpent in the violent and ſanguinary exercíſe of the chace. The plains of Tartary are filled with a ſtrong and ſerviceable breed of horſes, which are eaſily trained for the purpoſes of war and hunting. The Scythians of every age have been celebrated as bold and ſkilful riders: and conſtant practice had ſeated them ſo firmly on horſeback, that they were ſuppoſed by ſtrangers to perform the ordinary duties of civil life, to eat, to drink, and even to ſleep, without diſmounting from their ſteeds. They excel in the dexterous management of the lance; the long Tartar bow is drawn with a nervous arm; and the weighty arrow is directed to its object with unerring aim, and irreſiſtible force. Theſe arrows are often pointed againſt the harmleſs animals of the deſert, which increaſe and multiply in the abſence of their moſt formidable enemy; the hare, the goat, the roebuck, the fallow-deer, the ſtag, the elk, and the antelope. The vigour and patience both of the men and horſes are continually exerciſed by the fatigues of the chace; and the plentiful ſupply of game contributes to the ſubſiſtence, and even luxury, of a Tartar camp. But the exploits of the hunters of Scythia are not confined to the deſtruction of timid or innoxious beaſts; they boldly encounter the angry wild-boar, when he turns

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againſt his purſuers, excite the ſluggiſh courage of the bear, and provoke the fury of the tyger, as he ſlumbers in the thicket. Where there is danger there may be glory: and the mode of hunting, which opens the faireſt field to the exertions of valour, may juſtly be conſidered as the image, and as the ſchool, of war. The general hunting-matches, the pride and delight of the Tartar princes, compoſe an inſtructive exerciſe for their numerous cavalry. A circle is drawn, of many miles in circumference, to encompaſs the game of an extenſive diſtrict; and the troops that form the circle regularly advance towards a common centre; where the captive animals, ſurrounded on every ſide, are abandoned to the darts of the hunters. In this march, which frequently continues many days, the cavalry are obliged to climb the hills, to ſwim the rivers, and to wind through the vallies, without interrupting the preſcribed order of their gradual progreſs. They acquire the habit of directing their eye, and their ſteps, to a remote object; of preſerving their intervals; of ſuſpending, or accelerating, their pace, according to the motions of the troops on their right and left; and of watching and repeating the ſignals of their leaders. Their leaders ſtudy, in this practical ſchool, the moſt important leſſon of the military art; the prompt and accurate judgment of ground, of diſtance, and of time. To employ againſt a human enemy the ſame patience and valour, the ſame ſkill and diſcipline, is the only alteration which is required in real war; and the

amuſements of the chace ſerve as a prelude to the conqueſt of an empire [11].

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Govern-ment.

The political ſociety of the ancient Germans has the appearance of a voluntary alliance of independent warriors. The tribes of Scythia, diſtinguiſhed by the modern appellation of *Hords*, aſſume the form of a numerous and increaſing family; which, in the courſe of ſucceſſive generations, has been propagated from the ſame original ſtock. The meaneſt, and moſt ignorant, of the Tartars, preſerve, with conſcious pride, the ineſtimable treaſure of their genealogy; and whatever diſtinctions of rank may have been introduced, by the unequal diſtribution of paſtoral wealth, they mutually reſpect themſelves, and each other, as the deſcendants of the firſt founder of the tribe. The cuſtom, which ſtill prevails, of adopting the braveſt, and moſt faithful, of the captives, may countenance the very probable ſuſpicion, that this extenſive conſanguinity is, in a great meaſure, legal and fictitious. But the uſeful prejudice, which has obtained the ſanction of time and opinion, produces the effects of truth; the haughty Barbarians yield a cheerful and voluntary obedience to the head of their blood; and their chief, or *murſa*, as the repreſentative of their great father, exerciſes the authority of a judge, in peace, and of a leader, in war. In the original ſtate of the paſtoral world, each of the *murſas* (if we may continue to uſe a modern appellation) acted as the independent chief of a large and ſeparate family; and the

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limits of their peculiar territories were gradually fixed, by ſuperior force, or mutual conſent. But the conſtant operation of various and permanent cauſes contributed to unite the vagrant Hords into national communities, under the command of a ſupreme head. The weak were deſirous of ſupport, and the ſtrong were ambitious of dominion; the power, which is the reſult of union, oppreſſed and collected the divided forces of the adjacent tribes; and, as the vanquiſhed were freely admitted to ſhare the advantages of victory, the moſt valiant chiefs haſtened to range themſelves, and their followers, under the formidable ſtandard of a confederate nation. The moſt ſucceſsful of the Tartar princes aſſumed the military command, to which he was entitled by the ſuperiority, either of merit, or of power. He was raiſed to the throne by the acclamations of his equals; and the title of *Khan* expreſſes, in the language of the North of Aſia, the full extent of the regal dignity. The right of hereditary ſucceſſion was long confined to the blood of the founder of the monarchy; and at this moment all the Khans, who reign from Crimea to the wall of China, are the lineal deſcendants of the renowned Zingis [11]. But, as it is the indiſpenſable duty of a Tartar ſovereign to lead his warlike ſubjects into the field, the claims of an infant are often diſregarded; and ſome royal kinſman, diſtinguiſhed by his age and valour, is entruſted with the ſword and ſceptre of his predeceſſor. Two diſtinct and regular taxes are

levied on the tribes, to ſupport the dignity of their national monarch, and of their peculiar chief; and each of thoſe contributions amounts to the tithe, both of their property, and of their ſpoil. A Tartar ſovereign enjoys the tenth part of the wealth of his people; and as his own domeſtic riches of flocks and herds increaſe in a much larger proportion, he is able plentifully to maintain the ruſtic ſplendour of his court, to reward the moſt deſerving, or the moſt favoured, of his followers, and to obtain, from the gentle influence of corruption, the obedience which might be ſometimes refuſed to the ſtern mandates of authority. The manners of his ſubjects, accuſtomed, like himſelf, to blood and rapine, might excuſe, in their eyes, ſuch partial acts of tyranny, as would excite the horror of a civiliſed people; but the power of a deſpot has never been acknowledged in the deſerts of Scythia. The immediate juriſdiction of the Khan is confined within the limits of his own tribe; and the exercise of his royal prerogative has been moderated by the ancient inſtitution of a national council. The Coroultai [14], or Diet, of the Tartars, was regularly held in the ſpring and autumn, in the midſt of a plain; where the princes of the reigning family, and the murſas of the reſpective tribes, may conveniently aſſemble on horſeback, with their martial and numerous trains; and the ambitious monarch, who reviewed the ſtrength, muſt conſult the inclination, of an armed people. The rudiments of a feudal government may

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be diſcovered in the conſtitution of the Scythian or Tartar nations; but the perpetual conflict of thoſe hoſtile nations has ſometimes terminated in the eſtabliſhment of a powerful and deſpotic empire. The victor, enriched by the tribute, and fortified by the arms, of dependent kings, has ſpread his conqueſts over Europe or Aſia: the ſucceſsful ſhepherds of the North have ſubmitted to the confinement of arts, of laws, and of cities; and the introduction of luxury, after deſtroying the freedom of the people, has undermined the foundations of the throne [15].

Situation and extent of Scythia, or Tartary.

The memory of paſt events cannot long be preſerved, in the frequent and remote emigrations of illiterate Barbarians. The modern Tartars are ignorant of the conqueſts of their anceſtors [16]; and our knowledge of the hiſtory of the Scythians is derived from their intercourſe with the learned and civiliſed nations of the South, the Greeks, the Perſians, and the Chineſe. The Greeks, who navigated the Euxine, and planted their colonies along the ſea-coaſt, made the gradual and imperfect diſcovery of Scythia; from the Danube, and the confines of Thrace, as far as the frozen Mæotis, the ſeat of eternal winter, and Mount Caucaſus, which, in the language of poetry, was deſcribed as the utmoſt boundary of the earth. They celebrated, with ſimple credulity, the virtues of the paſtoral life [17]. They entertained a more rational apprehenſion of the ſtrength and numbers of the warlike Barbarians [18], who contemptuouſly baffled the immenſe armament of

of Darius, the ſon of Hyſtaſpes [19]. The Perſian monarchs had extended their weſtern conqueſts to the banks of the Danube, and the limits of European Scythia. The eaſtern provinces of their empire were expoſed to the Scythians of Aſia; the wild inhabitants of the plains beyond the Oxus and the Jaxartes, two mighty rivers, which direct their courſe towards the Caſpian ſea. The long and memorable quarrel of Iran and Touran, is ſtill the theme of hiſtory or romance: the famous, perhaps, the fabulous, valour of the Perſian heroes, Ruſtan and Aſfendiar, was ſignaliſed, in the defence of their country againſt the Afraſiabs of the North [20]; and the invincible ſpirit of the ſame Barbarians reſiſted, on the ſame ground, the victorious arms of Cyrus and Alexander [21]. In the eyes of the Greeks and Perſians, the real geography of Scythia was bounded, on the Eaſt, by the mountains of Imaus, or Caf; and their diſtant proſpect of the extreme and inacceſſible parts of Aſia was clouded by ignorance, or perplexed by fiction. But thoſe inacceſſible regions are the ancient reſidence of a powerful and civiliſed nation [22], which aſcends, by a probable tradition, above forty centuries [23]; and which is able to verify a ſeries of near two thouſand years, by the perpetual teſtimony of accurate and contemporary hiſtorians [24]. The annals of China [25] illuſtrate the ſtate and revolutions of the paſtoral tribes, which may ſtill be diſtinguiſhed by the vague appellation of Scythians, or Tartars: the vaſſals, the enemies, and ſometimes, the conquerors, of

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a great empire; whoſe policy has uniformly oppoſed the blind and impetuous valour of the Barbarians of the North. From the mouth of the Danube to the ſea of Japan, the whole longitude of Scythia is about one hundred and ten degrees, which, in that parallel, are equal to more than five thouſand miles. The latitude of theſe extenſive deſerts cannot be ſo eaſily, or ſo accurately, meaſured; but, from the fortieth degree, which touches the wall of China, we may ſecurely advance above a thouſand miles to the northward, till our progreſs is ſtopped by the exceſſive cold of Siberia. In that dreary climate, inſtead of the animated picture of a Tartar camp, the ſmoke which iſſues from the earth, or rather from the ſnow, betrays the ſubterraneous dwellings of the Tongouſes, and the Samoiedes: the want of horſes and oxen is imperfectly ſupplied by the uſe of rein-deer, and of large dogs; and the conquerors of the earth inſenſibly degenerate into a race of deformed and diminutive ſavages, who tremble at the ſound of arms[26].

Original ſeat of the Huns.

The Huns, who under the reign of Valens threatened the empire of Rome, had been formidable, in a much earlier period, to the empire of China[27]. Their ancient, perhaps, their original, ſeat, was an extenſive, though dry and barren, tract of country, immediately on the north ſide of the great wall. Their place is at preſent occupied by the forty-nine Hords or Banners of the Mongous, a paſtoral nation, which conſiſts of about two hundred thouſand families[28].

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Their conquests in Scythia.

But the valour of the Huns had extended the narrow limits of their dominions; and their ruſtic chiefs, who aſſumed the appellation of *Tanjou*, gradually became the conquerors, and the ſovereigns, of a formidable empire. Towards the Eaſt, their victorious arms were ſtopped only by the ocean; and the tribes, which are thinly ſcattered between the Amoor and the extreme peninſula of Corea, adhered, with reluctance, to the ſtandard of the Huns. On the Weſt, near the head of the Irtiſh, and in the vallies of Imaus, they found a more ample ſpace, and more numerous enemies. One of the lieutenants of the Tanjou ſubdued, in a ſingle expedition, twenty-ſix nations; the Igours [29], diſtinguiſhed above the Tartar race by the uſe of letters, were in the number of his vaſſals; and, by the ſtrange connection of human events, the flight of one of thoſe vagrant tribes recalled the victorious Parthians from the invaſion of Syria [30]. On the ſide of the North, the ocean was aſſigned as the limit of the power of the Huns. Without enemies to reſiſt their progreſs, or witneſſes to contradict their vanity, they might ſecurely atchieve a real, or imaginary, conqueſt of the frozen regions of Siberia. The *Northern Sea* was fixed as the remote boundary of their empire. But the name of that ſea, on whoſe ſhores the patriot Sovou embraced the life of a ſhepherd and an exile [31], may be transferred, with much more probability, to the Baikal, a capacious baſon, above three hundred miles in length, which diſ-

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dains the modeſt appellation of a lake [32], and which actually communicates with the ſeas of the North, by the long courſe of the Angara, the Tonguſka, and the Jeniſſea. The ſubmiſſion of ſo many diſtant nations might flatter the pride of the Tanjou; but the valour of the Huns could be rewarded only by the enjoyment of the wealth and luxury of the empire of the South. In the third century before the Chriſtian æra, a wall of fifteen hundred miles in length was conſtructed, to defend the frontiers of China againſt the inroads of the Huns [33]; but this ſtupendous work, which holds a conſpicuous place in the map of the world, has never contributed to the ſafety of an unwarlike people. The cavalry of the Tanjou frequently conſiſted of two or three hundred thouſand men, formidable by the matchleſs dexterity with which they managed their bows and their horſes; by their hardy patience in ſupporting the inclemency of the weather; and by the incredible ſpeed of their march, which was ſeldom checked by torrents, or precipices, by the deepeſt rivers, or by the moſt lofty mountains. They ſpread themſelves at once over the face of the country; and their rapid impetuoſity ſurpriſed, aſtoniſhed, and diſconcerted the grave and elaborate tactics of a Chineſe army. The emperor Kaoti [34], a ſoldier of fortune, whoſe perſonal merit had raiſed him to the throne, marched againſt the Huns with thoſe veteran troops which had been trained in the civil wars of China. But he was ſoon ſurrounded by the Bar-

Their wars with the Chineſe, ant. Chriſt. 201.

barians; and, after a ſiege of ſeven days, the monarch, hopeleſs of relief, was reduced to purchaſe his deliverance by an ignominious capitulation. The ſucceſſors of Kaoti, whoſe lives were dedicated to the arts of peace, or the luxury of the palace, ſubmitted to a more permanent diſgrace. They too haſtily confeſſed the inſufficiency of arms and fortifications. They were too eaſily convinced, that while the blazing ſignals announced on every ſide the approach of the Huns, the Chineſe troops, who ſlept with the helmet on their head, and the cuiraſs on their back, were deſtroyed by the inceſſant labour of ineffectual marches[11]. A regular payment of money, and ſilk, was ſtipulated as the condition of a temporary and precarious peace; and the wretched expedient of diſguiſing a real tribute, under the names of a gift or a ſubſidy, was practiſed by the emperors of China, as well as by thoſe of Rome. But there ſtill remained a more diſgraceful article of tribute, which violated the ſacred feelings of humanity and nature. The hardſhips of the ſavage life, which deſtroy in their infancy the children who are born with a leſs healthy and robuſt conſtitution, introduce a remarkable diſproportion between the numbers of the two ſexes. The Tartars are an ugly, and even deformed race; and, while they conſider their own women as the inſtruments of domeſtic labour, their deſires, or rather their appetites, are directed to the enjoyment of more elegant beauty. A ſelect band of the faireſt maidens of

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China was annually devoted to the rude embraces of the Huns [36]; and the alliance of the haughty Tanjous was ſecured by their marriage with the genuine, or adopted, daughters of the Imperial family, which vainly attempted to eſcape the ſacrilegious pollution. The ſituation of theſe unhappy victims is deſcribed in the verſes of a Chineſe princeſs, who laments that ſhe had been condemned by her parents to a diſtant exile, under a Barbarian huſband; who complains that ſour milk was her only drink, raw fleſh her only food, a tent her only palace; and who expreſſes, in a ſtrain of pathetic ſimplicity, the natural wiſh, that ſhe were transformed into a bird, to fly back to her dear country; the object of her tender and perpetual regret [37].

Decline and fall of the Huns.

The conqueſt of China has been twice atchieved by the paſtoral tribes of the north: the forces of the Huns were not inferior to thoſe of the Moguls, or of the Mantcheoux; and their ambition might entertain the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs. But their pride was humbled, and their progreſs was checked, by the arms and policy of Vouti [38], the fifth emperor of the powerful dynaſty of the Han. In his long reign of fifty-four years, the Barbarians of the ſouthern provinces ſubmitted to the laws and manners of China: and the ancient limits of the monarchy were enlarged, from the great river of Kiang, to the port of Canton. Inſtead of confining himſelf to the timid operations of a defenſive war, his lieu-

Ant. Chriſt. 141—87.

taennts penetrated many hundred miles into the country of the Huns. In thoſe boundleſs deſerts, where it is impoſſible to form magazines, and difficult to tranſport a ſufficient ſupply of proviſions, the armies of Vouti were repeatedly expoſed to intolerable hardſhips: and, of one hundred and forty thouſand ſoldiers*, who marched againſt the Barbarians, thirty thouſand only returned in ſafety to the feet of their maſter. Theſe loſſes, however, were compenſated by ſplendid and deciſive ſucceſs. The Chineſe generals improved the ſuperiority which they derived from the temper of their arms, their chariots of war, and the ſervice of their Tartar auxiliaries. The camp of the Tanjou was ſurpriſed in the midſt of ſleep and intemperance: and, though the monarch of the Huns bravely cut his way through the ranks of the enemy, he left above fifteen thouſand of his ſubjects on the field of battle. Yet this ſignal victory, which was preceded and followed by many bloody engagements, contributed much leſs to the deſtruction of the power of the Huns, than the effectual policy which was employed to detach the tributary nations from their obedience. Intimidated by the arms, or allured by the promiſes, of Vouti and his ſucceſſors; the moſt conſiderable tribes, both of the Eaſt and of the Weſt, diſclaimed the authority of the Tanjou. While ſome acknowledged themſelves the allies or vaſſals of the empire, they all became the implacable enemies of the Huns: and the numbers of that haughty people,

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Ant. Chriſt. 70.

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as ſoon as they were reduced to their native ſtrength, might, perhaps, have been contained within the walls of one of the great and populous cities of China [39]. The deſertion of his ſubjects, and the perplexity of a civil war, at length compelled the Tanjou himſelf to renounce the dignity of an independent ſovereign, and the freedom of a warlike and high ſpirited nation. He was received at Sigan, the capital of the monarchy, by the troops, the Mandarins, and the emperor himſelf, with all the honours that could adorn and diſguiſe the triumph of Chineſe vanity [40]. A magnificent palace was prepared for his reception; his place was aſſigned above all the princes of the royal family; and the patience of the Barbarian king was exhauſted by the ceremonies of a banquet, which conſiſted of eight courſes of meat, and of nine ſolemn pieces of muſic. But he performed, on his knees, the duty of a reſpectful homage to the emperor of China; pronounced, in his own name, and in the name of his ſucceſſors, a perpetual oath of fidelity; and gratefully accepted a ſeal, which was beſtowed as the emblem of his regal dependence. After this humiliating ſubmiſſion, the Tanjous ſometimes departed from their allegiance, and ſeized the favourable moments of war and rapine; but the monarchy of the Huns gradually declined, till it was broken, by civil diſſenſion, into two hoſtile and ſeparate kingdoms. One of the princes of the nation was urged, by fear and ambition, to retire towards the South with eight hords, which

Ant. Chriſt. 51.

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composed between forty and fifty thousand families. He obtained, with the title of Tanjou, a convenient territory on the verge of the Chinese provinces; and his constant attachment to the service of the empire, was secured by weakness, and the desire of revenge. From the time of this fatal schism, the Huns of the North continued to languish about fifty years; till they were oppressed on every side by their foreign and domestic enemies. The proud inscription [41] of a column, erected on a lofty mountain, announced to posterity, that a Chinese army had marched seven hundred miles into the heart of their country. The Sienpi [42], a tribe of Oriental Tartars, retaliated the injuries which they had formerly sustained; and the power of the Tanjous, after a reign of thirteen hundred years, was utterly destroyed before the end of the first century of the Christian æra [43]. A. D. 93.

Their emigrations. A. D. 100, etc.

The fate of the vanquished Huns was diversified by the various influence of character and situation [44]. Above one hundred thousand persons, the poorest, indeed, and the most pusillanimous, of the people, were contented to remain in their native country, to renounce their peculiar name and origin, and to mingle with the victorious nation of the Sienpi. Fifty-eight hords, about two hundred thousand men, ambitious of a more honourable servitude, retired towards the South; implored the protection of the emperors of China; and were permitted to inhabit, and to guard, the extreme frontiers of the province

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of Chanſi and the territory of Ortus. But the moſt warlike and powerful tribes of the Huns maintained, in their adverſe fortune, the undaunted ſpirit of their anceſtors. The weſtern world was open to their valour; and they reſolved, under the conduct of their hereditary chieftains, to diſcover and ſubdue ſome remote country, which was ſtill inacceſſible to the arms of the Sienpi, and to the laws of China[45]. The courſe of their emigration ſoon carried them beyond the mountains of Imaus, and the limits of the Chineſe geography; but *we* are able to diſtinguiſh the two great diviſions of theſe formidable exiles, which directed their march towards the Oxus, and towards the Volga. The firſt of theſe colonies eſtabliſhed their dominion in the fruitful and extenſive plains of Sogdiana, on the Eaſtern ſide of the Caſpian: where they preſerved the name of Huns, with the epithet of Euthalites, or Nepthalites. Their manners were ſoftened, and even their features were inſenſibly improved, by the mildneſs of the climate, and their long reſidence in a flouriſhing province[46], which might ſtill retain a faint impreſſion of the arts of Greece[47]. The *white* Huns, a name which they derived from the change of their complexions, ſoon abandoned the paſtoral life of Scythia. Gorgo, which, under the appellation of Carizme, has ſince enjoyed a temporary ſplendour, was the reſidence of the king, who exerciſed a legal authority over an obedient people. Their luxury was maintained by the labour of the Sogdians;

The white Huns of Sogdiana.

and the only veſtige of their ancient barbariſm, was the cuſtom which obliged all the companions, perhaps to the number of twenty, who had ſhared the liberality of a wealthy lord, to be buried alive in the ſame grave [11]. The vicinity of the Huns to the provinces of Perſia, involved them in frequent and bloody conteſts with the power of that monarchy. But they reſpected, in peace, the faith of treaties; in war, the dictates of humanity; and their memorable victory over Peroſes, or Firuz, diſplayed the moderation, as well as the valour, of the Barbarians. The *ſecond* diviſion of their countrymen, the Huns, who gradually advanced towards the North-weſt, were exerciſed by the hardſhips of a colder climate, and a more laborious march. Neceſſity compelled them to exchange the ſilks of China, for the furs of Siberia; the imperfect rudiments of civiliſed life were obliterated; and the native fierceneſs of the Huns was exaſperated by their intercourſe with the ſavage tribes, who were compared, with ſome propriety, to the wild beaſts of the deſert. Their independent ſpirit ſoon rejected the hereditary ſucceſſion of the Tanjous; and while each hord was governed by its peculiar Murſa, their tumultuary council directed the public meaſures of the whole nation. As late as the thirteenth century, their tranſient reſidence on the Eaſtern banks of the Volga, was atteſted by the name of Great Hungary [12]. In the winter, they deſcended with their flocks and herds towards the mouth of that mighty river;

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The Huns of the Volga.

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and their ſummer excurſions reached as high as the latitude of Saratoff, or perhaps the conflux of the Kama. Such at leaſt were the recent limits of the black Calmucks[50], who remained about a century under the protection of Ruſſia; and who have ſince returned to their native ſeats on the frontiers of the Chineſe empire. The march, and the return, of thoſe wandering Tartars, whoſe united camp conſiſts of fifty thouſand tents or families, illuſtrate the diſtant emigrations of the ancient Huns[51].

Their conqueſt of the Alani.

It is impoſſible to fill the dark interval of time, which elapſed, after the Huns of the Volga were loſt in the eyes of the Chineſe; and before they ſhewed themſelves to thoſe of the Romans. There is ſome reaſon, however, to apprehend, that the ſame force which had driven them from their native ſeats, ſtill continued to impel their march towards the frontiers of Europe. The power of the Sienpi, their implacable enemies, which extended above three thouſand miles from Eaſt to Weſt[52], muſt have gradually oppreſſed them by the weight and terror of a formidable neighbourhood: and the flight of the tribes of Scythia would inevitably tend to increaſe the ſtrength, or to contract the territories, of the Huns. The harſh and obſcure appellations of thoſe tribes would offend the ear, without informing the underſtanding, of the reader; but I cannot ſuppreſs the very natural ſuſpicion, *that* the Huns of the north derived a conſiderable rein-

forcement from the ruin of the dynaſty of the South, which, in the courſe of the third century, ſubmitted to the dominion of China; *that* the braveſt warriors marched away in ſearch of their free and adventurous countrymen; *and* that, as they had been divided by proſperity, they were eaſily re-united by the common hardſhips of their adverſe fortune". The Huns, with their flocks and herds, the wives and children, their dependents and allies, were tranſported to the Weſt of the Volga: and they boldly advanced to invade the country of the Alani, a paſtoral people who occupied, or waſted, an extenſive tract of the deſerts of Scythia. The plains between the Volga and the Tanais were covered with the tents of the Alani, but their name and manners were diffuſed over the wide extent of their conqueſts; and the painted tribes of the Agathyrſi and Geloni were confounded among their vaſſals. Towards the North, they penetrated into the frozen regions of Siberia, among the ſavages who were accuſtomed, in their rage or hunger, to the taſte of human fleſh: and their Southern inroads were puſhed as far as the confines of Perſia and India. The mixture of Sarmatic and German blood had contributed to improve the features of the Alani, to whiten their ſwarthy complexions, and to tinge their hair with a yelloviſh caſt, which is ſeldom found in the Tartar race. They were leſs deformed in their perſons, leſs brutiſh in their manners, than the Huns; but they did not yield to thoſe formidable Bar-

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barians in their martial and independent ſpirit; in the love of freedom, which rejected even the uſe of domeſtic ſlaves; and in the love of arms, which conſidered war and rapine as the pleaſure and the glory of mankind. A naked ſcymetar, fixed in the ground, was the only object of their religious worſhip; the ſcalps of their enemies formed the coſtly trappings of their horſes; and they viewed, with pity and contempt, the puſillanimous warriors, who patiently expected the infirmities of age, and the tortures of lingering diſeaſe [54]. On the banks of the Tanais, the military power of the Huns and the Alani encountered each other with equal valour, but with unequal ſucceſs. The Huns prevailed in the bloody conteſt: the king of the Alani was ſlain; and the remains of the vanquiſhed nation were diſperſed by the ordinary alternative of flight or ſubmiſſion [55]. A colony of exiles found a ſecure refuge in the mountains of Caucaſus, between the Euxine and the Caſpian; where they ſtill preſerve their name and their independence. Another colony advanced, with more intrepid courage, towards the ſhores of the Baltic; aſſociated themſelves with the Northern tribes of Germany; and ſhared the ſpoil of the Roman provinces of Gaul and Spain. But the greateſt part of the nation of the Alani embraced the offers of an honourable and advantageous union: and the Huns, who eſteemed the valour of their leſs fortunate enemies, proceeded, with an increaſe of numbers and confidence, to invade the limits of the Gothic empire.

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their victories over the Goths. A. D. 375.

The great Hermanric, whoſe dominions extended from the Baltic to the Euxine, enjoyed, in the full maturity of age and reputation, the fruit of his victories, when he was alarmed by the formidable approach of an hoſt of unknown enemies[16], on whom his barbarous ſubjects might, without injuſtice, beſtow the epithet of Barbarians. The numbers, the ſtrength, the rapid motions, and the implacable cruelty of the Huns, were felt, and dreaded, and magnified, by the aſtoniſhed Goths; who beheld their fields and villages conſumed with flames, and deluged with indiſcriminate ſlaughter. To theſe real terrors, they added, the ſurpriſe and abhorrence which were excited by the ſhrill voice, the uncouth geſtures, and the ſtrange deformity of the Huns. Theſe ſavages of Scythia were compared (and the picture had ſome reſemblance) to the animals who walk very aukwardly on two legs; and to the mis-ſhapen figures, the *Termini*, which were often placed on the bridges of antiquity. They were diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the human ſpecies by their broad ſhoulders, flat noſes, and ſmall black eyes, deeply buried in the head; and as they were almoſt deſtitute of beards, they never enjoyed either the manly graces of youth, or the venerable aſpect of age[17]. A fabulous origin was aſſigned, worthy of their form and manners; that the witches of Scythia, who, for their foul and deadly practices, had been driven from ſociety, had copulated in the deſert with infernal ſpirits; and that the Huns were the offſpring of

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this execrable conjunction". The tale, ſo full of horror and abſurdity, was greedily embraced by the credulous hatred of the Goths; but, while it gratified their hatred, it increaſed their fear; ſince the poſterity of dæmons and witches might be ſuppoſed to inherit ſome ſhare of the præternatural powers, as well as of the malignant temper, of their parents. Againſt theſe enemies, Hermanric prepared to exert the united forces of the Gothic ſtate; but he ſoon diſcovered that his vaſſal tribes, provoked by oppreſſion, were much more inclined to ſecond, than to repel, the invaſion of the Huns. One of the chiefs of the Roxolani" had formerly deſerted the ſtandard of Hermanric, and the cruel tyrant had condemned the innocent wife of the traitor to be torn aſunder by wild horſes. The brothers of that unfortunate woman ſeized the favourable moment of revenge. The aged king of the Goths languiſhed ſome time after the dangerous wounds which he received from their daggers: but the conduct of the war was retarded by his infirmities; and the public councils of the nation were diſtracted by a ſpirit of jealouſy and diſcord. His death, which has been imputed to his own deſpair, left the reins of government in the hands of Withimer, who, with the doubtful aid of ſome Scythian mercenaries, maintained the unequal conteſt againſt the arms of the Huns and the Alani, till he was defeated and ſlain, in a deciſive battle. The Oſtrogoths ſubmitted to their fate: and the royal race of the Amali will hereafter be found among the

the ſubjects of the haughty Attila. But the perſon of Witheric, the infant king, was ſaved by the diligence of Alatheus and Saphrax; two warriors of approved valour and fidelity; who, by cautious marches, conducted the independent remains of the nation of the Oſtrogoths towards the Danaſtus, or Nieſter; a conſiderable river, which now ſeparates the Turkiſh dominions from the empire of Ruſſia. On the banks of the Nieſter, the prudent Athanaric, more attentive to his own than to the general ſafety, had fixed the camp of the Viſigoths; with the firm reſolution of oppoſing the victorious Barbarians, whom he thought it leſs adviſable to provoke. The ordinary ſpeed of the Huns was checked by the weight of baggage, and the incumbrance of captives; but their military ſkill deceived, and almoſt deſtroyed, the army of Athanaric. While the judge of the Viſigoths defended the banks of the Nieſter, he was encompaſſed and attacked by a numerous detachment of cavalry, who, by the light of the moon, had paſſed the river in a fordable place; and, it was not without the utmoſt efforts of courage and conduct, that he was able to effect his retreat towards the hilly country. The undaunted general had already formed a new and judicious plan of defenſive war; and the ſtrong lines, which he was preparing to conſtruct between the mountains, the Pruth and the Danube, would have ſecured the extenſive and fertile territory that bears the modern name of Walachia, from the deſtructive inroads of the Huns[**]. But the

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hopes and meaſures of the judge of the Viſigoths were ſoon diſappointed, by the trembling impatience of his diſmayed countrymen; who were perſuaded by their fears, that the interpoſition of the Danube was the only barrier that could ſave them from the rapid purſuit, and invincible valour, of the Barbarians of Scythia. Under the command of Fritigern and Alavivus [61], the body of the nation haſtily advanced to the banks of the great river, and implored the protection of the Roman emperor of the Eaſt. Athanaric himſelf, ſtill anxious to avoid the guilt of perjury, retired, with a band of faithful followers, into the mountainous country of Caucaland; which appears to have been guarded, and almoſt concealed, by the impenetrable foreſts of Tranſylvania [62].

The Goths implore the protection of Valens, A. D. 376.

After Valens had terminated the Gothic war with ſome appearance of glory and ſucceſs, he made a progreſs through his dominions of Aſia, and at length fixed his reſidence in the capital of Syria. The five years [63] which he ſpent at Antioch were employed to watch, from a ſecure diſtance, the hoſtile deſigns of the Perſian monarch; to check the depredations of the Saracens and Iſaurians [64]; to enforce, by arguments more prevalent than thoſe of reaſon and eloquence, the belief of the Arian theology; and to ſatisfy his anxious ſuſpicions by the promiſcuous execution of the innocent and the guilty. But the attention of the emperor was moſt ſeriouſly engaged, by the important intelligence which he received from the civil and military officers who were

entruſted with the defence of the Danube. He was informed, that the North was agitated by a furious tempeſt; that the irruption of the Huns, an unknown and monſtrous race of ſavages, had ſubverted the power of the Goths; and that the ſuppliant multitudes of that warlike nation, whoſe pride was now humbled in the duſt, covered a ſpace of many miles along the banks of the river. With out-ſtretched arms, and pathetic lamentations, they loudly deplored their paſt misfortunes and their preſent danger; acknowledged, that their only hope of ſafety was in the clemency of the Roman government; and moſt ſolemnly proteſted, that if the gracious liberality of the emperor would permit them to cultivate the waſte lands of Thrace, they ſhould ever hold themſelves bound, by the ſtrongeſt obligations of duty and gratitude, to obey the laws, and to guard the limits, of the republic. Theſe aſſurances were confirmed by the ambaſſadors of the Goths, who impatiently expected, from the mouth of Valens, an anſwer that muſt finally determine the fate of their unhappy countrymen. The emperor of the Eaſt was no longer guided by the wiſdom and authority of his elder brother, whoſe death happened towards the end of the preceding year: and as the diſtreſsful ſituation of the Goths required an inſtant and peremptory deciſion, he was deprived of the favourite reſource of feeble and timid minds; who conſider the uſe of dilatory and ambiguous meaſures as the moſt admirable efforts of conſummate prudence. As long as the

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ſame paſſions and intereſts ſubſiſt among mankind, the queſtions of war and peace, of juſtice and policy, which were debated in the councils of antiquity, will frequently preſent themſelves as the ſubject of modern deliberation. But the moſt experienced ſtateſman of Europe, has never been ſummoned to conſider the propriety, or the danger, of admitting, or rejecting, an innumerable multitude of Barbarians, who are driven by deſpair and hunger to ſolicit a ſettlement on the territories of a civiliſed nation. When that important propoſition, ſo eſſentially connected with the public ſafety, was referred to the miniſters of Valens, they were perplexed and divided; but they ſoon acquieſced in the flattering ſentiment which ſeemed the moſt favourable to the pride, the indolence, and the avarice of their ſovereign. The ſlaves, who were decorated with the titles of præfects and generals, diſſembled or diſregarded the terrors of this national emigration; ſo extremely different from the partial and accidental colonies, which had been received on the extreme limits of the empire. But they applauded the liberality of fortune, which had conducted, from the moſt diſtant countries of the globe, a numerous and invincible army of ſtrangers, to defend the throne of Valens; who might now add to the royal treaſures, the immenſe ſums of gold ſupplied by the provincials to compenſate their annual proportion of recruits. The prayers of the Goths were granted, and their ſervice was accepted by the Imperial court, and orders were

immediately diſpatched to the civil and military governors of the Thracian dioceſe, to make the neceſſary preparations for the paſſage and ſubſiſtence of a great people, till a proper and ſufficient territory could be allotted for their future reſidence. The liberality of the emperor was accompanied, however, with two harſh and rigorous conditions, which prudence might juſtify on the ſide of the Romans; but which diſtreſs alone could extort from the indignant Goths. Before they paſſed the Danube, they were required to deliver their arms: and it was inſiſted, that their children ſhould be taken from them, and diſperſed through the provinces of Aſia; where they might be civiliſed by the arts of education, and ſerve as hoſtages to ſecure the fidelity of their parents. CHAP. XXVI.

They are tranſported over the Danube into the Roman empire.

During this ſuſpenſe of a doubtful and diſtant negociation, the impatient Goths made ſome raſh attempts to paſs the Danube, without the permiſſion of the government, whoſe protection they had implored. Their motions were ſtrictly obſerved by the vigilance of the troops which were ſtationed along the river; and their foremoſt detachments were defeated with conſiderable ſlaughter: yet ſuch were the timid councils of the reign of Valens, that the brave officers who had ſerved their country in the execution of their duty, were puniſhed by the loſs of their employments, and narrowly eſcaped the loſs of their heads. The Imperial mandate was at length received for tranſporting over the Danube the

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whole body of the Gothic nation [65]; but the execution of this order was a taſk of labour and difficulty. The ſtream of the Danube, which in thoſe parts is above a mile broad [66], had been ſwelled by inceſſant rains; and, in this tumultuous paſſage, many were ſwept away, and drowned, by the rapid violence of the current. A large fleet of veſſels, of boats, and of canoes, was provided: many days and nights they paſſed and repaſſed with indefatigable toil; and the moſt ſtrenuous diligence was exerted by the officers of Valens, that not a ſingle Barbarian, of thoſe who were reſerved to ſubvert the foundations of Rome, ſhould be left on the oppoſite ſhore. It was thought expedient that an accurate account ſhould be taken of their numbers; but the perſons who were employed ſoon deſiſted, with amazement and diſmay, from the proſecution of the endleſs and impracticable taſk [67]: and the principal hiſtorian of the age moſt ſeriouſly affirms, that the prodigious armies of Darius and Xerxes, which had ſo long been conſidered as the fables of vain and credulous antiquity, were now juſtified, in the eyes of mankind, by the evidence of fact and experience. A probable teſtimony has fixed the number of the Gothic warriors at two hundred thouſand men; and if we can venture to add the juſt proportion of women, of children, and of ſlaves, the whole maſs of people which compoſed this formidable emigration, muſt have amounted to near a million of perſons, of both ſexes, and of all ages. The children of the Goths, thoſe at

leaſt of a diſtinguiſhed rank, were ſeparated from the multitude. They were conducted, without delay, to the diſtant ſeats aſſigned for their reſidence and education; and as the numerous train of hoſtages or captives paſſed through the cities, their gay and ſplendid apparel, their robuſt and martial figure, excited the ſurpriſe and envy of the Provincials. But the ſtipulation, the moſt offenſive to the Goths, and the moſt important to the Romans, was ſhamefully eluded. The Barbarians, who conſidered their arms as the enſigns of honour, and the pledges of ſafety, were diſpoſed to offer a price, which the luſt or avarice of the Imperial officers was eaſily tempted to accept. To preſerve their arms, the haughty warriors conſented, with ſome reluctance, to proſtitute their wives or their daughters; the charms of a beauteous maid, or a comely boy, ſecured the connivance of the inſpectors; who ſometimes caſt an eye of covetouſneſs on the fringed carpets and linen garments of their new allies [11], or who ſacrificed their duty to the mean conſideration of filling their farms with cattle, and their houſes with ſlaves. The Goths, with arms in their hands, were permitted to enter the boats; and, when their ſtrength was collected on the other ſide of the river, the immenſe camp which was ſpread over the plains and the hills of the Lower Mæſia, aſſumed a threatening and even hoſtile aſpect. The leaders of the Oſtrogoths, Alatheus and Saphrax, the guardians of their infant king, appeared ſoon afterwards on the

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Northern banks of the Danube; and immediately diſpatched their ambaſſadors to the court of Antioch, to ſolicit, with the ſame profeſſions of allegiance and gratitude, the ſame favour which had been granted to the ſuppliant Viſigoths. The abſolute refuſal of Valens ſuſpended their progreſs, and diſcovered, the repentance, the ſuſpicions, and the fears, of the Imperial council.

Their diſtreſs and diſcontent.

An undiſciplined and unſettled nation of Barbarians required the firmeſt temper, and the moſt dexterous management. The daily ſubſiſtence of near a million of extraordinary ſubjects could be ſupplied only by conſtant and ſkilful diligence, and might continually be interrupted by miſtake or accident. The inſolence, or the indignation of the Goths, if they conceived themſelves to be the objects, either of fear, or of contempt, might urge them to the moſt deſperate extremities; and the fortune of the ſtate ſeemed to depend on the prudence, as well as the integrity, of the generals of Valens. At this important criſis, the military government of Thrace was exerciſed by Lupicinus and Maximus, in whoſe venal minds the ſlighteſt hope of private emolument outweighed every conſideration of public advantage; and whoſe guilt was only alleviated by their incapacity of diſcerning the pernicious effects of their raſh and criminal adminiſtration. Inſtead of obeying the orders of their ſovereign, and ſatisfying, with decent liberality, the demands of the Goths, they levied an ungenerous and oppreſſive tax on the wants of the hungry Barbarians. The vileſt food was ſold at

an extravagant price; and, in the room of wholesome and ſubſtantial proviſions, the markets were filled with the fleſh of dogs, and of unclean animals, who had died of diſeaſe. To obtain the valuable acquiſition of a pound of bread, the Goths reſigned the poſſeſſion of an expenſive, though ſerviceable, ſlave; and a ſmall quantity of meat was greedily purchaſed with ten pounds of a precious, but uſeleſs, metal [11]. When their property was exhauſted, they continued this neceſſary traffic by the ſale of their ſons and daughters; and notwithſtanding the love of freedom, which animated every Gothic breaſt, they ſubmitted to the humiliating maxim, that it was better for their children to be maintained in a ſervile condition, than to periſh in a ſtate of wretched and helpleſs independence. The moſt lively reſentment is excited by the tyranny of pretended benefactors, who ſternly exact the debt of gratitude which they have cancelled by ſubſequent injuries: a ſpirit of diſcontent inſenſibly aroſe in the camp of the Barbarians, who pleaded, without ſucceſs, the merit of their patient and dutiful behaviour; and loudly complained of the inhoſpitable treatment which they had received from their new allies. They beheld around them the wealth and plenty of a fertile province, in the midſt of which they ſuffered the intolerable hardſhips of artificial famine. But the means of relief, and even of revenge, were in their hands; ſince the rapaciouſneſs of their tyrants had left, to an injured people, the poſſeſſion and the uſe

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of arms. The clamours of a multitude, untaught to diſguiſe their ſentiments, announced the firſt ſymptoms of reſiſtance, and alarmed the timid and guilty minds of Lupicinus and Maximus. Thoſe crafty miniſters, who ſubſtituted the cunning of temporary expedients to the wiſe and ſalutary counſels of general policy, attempted to remove the Goths from their dangerous ſtation on the frontiers of the empire; and to diſperſe them, in ſeparate quarters of cantonment, through the interior provinces. As they were conſcious how ill they had deſerved the reſpect, or confidence, of the Barbarians, they diligently collected, from every ſide, a military force, that might urge the tardy and reluctant march of a people, who had not yet renounced the title, or the duties, of Roman ſubjects. But the generals of Valens, while their attention was ſolely directed to the diſcontented Viſigoths, imprudently diſarmed the ſhips and the fortifications, which conſtituted the defence of the Danube. The fatal overſight was obſerved, and improved, by Alatheus and Saphrax, who anxiouſly watched the favourable moment of eſcaping from the purſuit of the Huns. By the help of ſuch raſts and veſſels as could be haſtily procured, the leaders of the Oſtrogoths tranſported, without oppoſition, their king and their army; and boldly fixed an hoſtile and independent camp on the territories of the empire [70].

Revolt of the Goths in Mæſia, and their

Under the name of judges, Alavivus and Fritigern were the leaders of the Viſigoths in peace and war; and the authority which they derived

from their birth, was ratified by the free conſent of the nation. In a ſeaſon of tranquillity, their power might have been equal, as well as their rank; but, as ſoon as their countrymen were exaſperated by hunger and oppreſſion, the ſuperior abilities of Fritigern aſſumed the military command, which he was qualified to exerciſe for the public welfare. He reſtrained the impatient ſpirit of the Viſigoths, till the injuries and the inſults of their tyrants ſhould juſtify their reſiſtance in the opinion of mankind: but he was not diſpoſed to ſacrifice any ſolid advantages for the empty praiſe of juſtice and moderation. Senſible of the benefits which would reſult from the union of the Gothic powers under the ſame ſtandard, he ſecretly cultivated the friendſhip of the Oſtrogoths; and while he profeſſed an implicit obedience to the orders of the Roman generals, he proceeded by ſlow marches towards Marcianopolis, the capital of the Lower Mæſia, about ſeventy miles from the banks of the Danube. On that fatal ſpot, the flames of diſcord and mutual hatred burſt forth into a dreadful conflagration. Lupicinus had invited the Gothic chiefs to a ſplendid entertainment; and their martial train remained under arms at the entrance of the palace. But the gates of the city were ſtrictly guarded; and the Barbarians were ſternly excluded from the uſe of a plentiful market, to which they aſſerted their equal claim of ſubjects and allies. Their humble prayers were rejected with inſolence and deriſion; and as their patience

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was now exhauſted, the townſmen, the ſoldiers, and the Goths, were ſoon involved in a conflict of paſſionate altercation and angry reproaches. A blow was imprudently given; a ſword was haſtily drawn; and the firſt blood that was ſpilt in this accidental quarrel, became the ſignal of a long and deſtructive war. In the midſt of noiſe and brutal intemperance, Lupicinus was informed, by a ſecret meſſenger, that many of his ſoldiers were ſlain, and deſpoiled of their arms; and as he was already inflamed by wine, and oppreſſed by ſleep, he iſſued a raſh command, that their death ſhould be revenged by the maſſacre of the guards of Fritigern and Alavivus. The clamorous ſhouts and dying groans appriſed Fritigern of his extreme danger: and, as he poſſeſſed the calm and intrepid ſpirit of a hero, he ſaw that he was loſt if he allowed a moment of deliberation to the man who had ſo deeply injured him. "A trifling diſpute", ſaid the Gothic leader, with a firm but gentle tone of voice, "appears to have ariſen between the "two nations; but it may be productive of the "moſt dangerous conſequences, unleſs the tu- "mult is immediately pacified by the aſſurance "of our ſafety, and the authority of our pre- "ſence." At theſe words, Fritigern and his companions drew their ſwords, opened their paſ- ſage through the unreſiſting crowd, which filled the palace, the ſtreets, and the gates, of Marcian- opolis, and, mounting their horſes, haſtily vaniſhed from the eyes of the aſtoniſhed Romans.

The generals of the Goths were ſaluted by the fierce and joyful acclamations of the camp: war was inſtantly reſolved, and the reſolution was executed without delay: the banners of the nation were diſplayed according to the cuſtom of their anceſtors; and the air reſounded with the harſh and mournful muſic of the Barbarian trumpet [71]. The weak and guilty Lupicinus, who had dared to provoke, who had neglected to deſtroy, and who ſtill preſumed to deſpiſe, his formidable enemy, marched againſt the Goths, at the head of ſuch a military force as could be collected on this ſudden emergency. The Barbarians expected his approach about nine miles from Marcianopolis; and on this occaſion the talents of the general were found to be of more prevailing efficacy than the weapons and diſcipline of the troops. The valour of the Goths was ſo ably directed by the genius of Fritigern, that they broke, by a cloſe and vigorous attack, the ranks of the Roman legions. Lupicinus left his arms and ſtandards, his tribunes and his braveſt ſoldiers, on the field of battle; and their uſeleſs courage ſerved only to protect the ignominious flight of their leader. "That ſucceſsful day put an end to the diſtreſs "of the Barbarians, and the ſecurity of the Ro- "mans: from that day, the Goths, renouncing "the precarious condition of ſtrangers and exiles, "aſſumed the character of citizens and maſters, "claimed an abſolute dominion over the poſ- "ſeſſors of land, and held, in their own right, "the northern provinces of the empire, which

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"are bounded by the Danube." Such are the words of the Gothic hiſtorian[72], who celebrates, with rude eloquence, the glory of his countrymen. But the dominion of the Barbarians was exerciſed only for the purpoſes of rapine and deſtruction. As they had been deprived, by the miniſters of the emperor, of the common benefits of nature, and the fair intercourſe of ſocial life, they retaliated the injuſtice on the ſubjects of the empire; and the crimes of Lupicinus were expiated by the ruin of the peaceful huſbandmen of Thrace, the conflagration of their villages, and the maſſacre, or captivity, of their innocent families. The report of the Gothic victory was ſoon diffuſed over the adjacent country; and while it filled the minds of the Romans with terror and diſmay, their own haſty imprudence contributed to increaſe the forces of Fritigern, and the calamities of the province. Some time before the great emigration, a numerous body of Goths, under the command of Suerid and Colias, had been received into the protection and ſervice of the empire[73]. They were encamped under the walls of Hadrianople: but the miniſters of Valens were anxious to remove them beyond the Helleſpont, at a diſtance from the dangerous temptation which might ſo eaſily be communicated by the neighbourhood, and the ſucceſs, of their countrymen. The reſpectful ſubmiſſion with which they yielded to the order of their march, might be conſidered as a proof of their fidelity; and their moderate requeſt of a ſufficient allowance

They penetrate into Thrace.

of proviſions, and of a delay of only two days, was expreſſed in the moſt dutiful terms. But the firſt magiſtrate of Hadrianople, incenſed by ſome diſorders which had been committed at his country-houſe, refuſed this indulgence; and arming againſt them the inhabitants and manufacturers of a populous city, he urged, with hoſtile threats, their inſtant departure. The barbarians ſtood ſilent and amazed, till they were exaſperated by the inſulting clamours, and miſſile weapons, of the populace: but when patience or contempt was fatigued, they cruſhed the undiſciplined multitude, inflicted many a ſhameful wound on the backs of their flying enemies, and deſpoiled them of the ſplendid armour[74], which they were unworthy to bear. The reſemblance of their ſufferings and their actions ſoon united this victorious detachment to the nation of the Viſigoths; the troops of Colias and Suerid expected the approach of the great Fritigern, ranged themſelves under his ſtandard, and ſignaliſed their ardour in the ſiege of Hadrianople. But the reſiſtance of the garriſon informed the Barbarians, that, in the attack of regular fortifications, the efforts of unſkilful courage are ſeldom effectual. Their general acknowledged his error, raiſed the ſiege, declared that, "he was at peace with ſtone walls[75]," and revenged his diſappointment on the adjacent country. He accepted, with pleaſure, the uſeful reinforcement of hardy workmen, who laboured in the gold mines of Thrace[76], for the emolument, and under the laſh, of an unfeeling maſter[77]: and theſe new aſſociates conducted the Barbarians,

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through the ſecret paths, to the moſt ſequeſtered places, which had been choſen to ſecure the inhabitants, the cattle, and the magazines of corn. With the aſſiſtance of ſuch guides, nothing could remain impervious, or inacceſſible: reſiſtance was fatal; flight was impracticable; and the patient ſubmiſſion of helpleſs innocence ſeldom found mercy from the Barbarian conqueror. In the courſe of theſe depredations, a great number of the children of the Goths, who had been ſold into captivity, were reſtored to the embraces of their afflicted parents; but theſe tender interviews, which might have revived and cheriſhed in their minds ſome ſentiments of humanity, tended only to ſtimulate their native fierceneſs by the deſire of revenge. They liſtened, with eager attention, to the complaints of their captive children, who had ſuffered the moſt cruel indignities from the luſtful or angry paſſions of their maſters; and the ſame cruelties, the ſame indignities, were ſeverely retaliated on the ſons and daughters of the Romans [78].

Operations of the Gothic war. A. D. 377.

The imprudence of Valens and his miniſters had introduced into the heart of the empire a nation of enemies; but the Viſigoths might even yet have been reconciled, by the manly confeſſion of paſt errors, and the ſincere performance of former engagements. Theſe healing and temperate meaſures ſeemed to concur with the timorous diſpoſition of the ſovereign of the Eaſt: but, on this occaſion alone, Valens was brave; and his unſeaſonable bravery was fatal to himſelf and to his

his ſubjects. He declared his intention of marching from Antioch to Conſtantinople, to ſubdue this dangerous rebellion; and, as he was not ignorant of the difficulties of the enterpriſe, he ſolicited the aſſiſtance of his nephew, the emperor Gratian, who commanded all the forces of the Weſt. The veteran troops were haſtily recalled from the defence of Armenia; that important frontier was abandoned to the diſcretion of Sapor; and the immediate conduct of the Gothic war was entruſted, during the abſence of Valens, to his lieutenants Trajan and Profuturus, two generals who indulged themſelves in a very falſe and favourable opinion of their own abilities. On their arrival in Thrace, they were joined by Richomer, count of the domeſtics; and the auxiliaries of the Weſt, that marched under his banner, were compoſed of the Gallic legions, reduced indeed by a ſpirit of deſertion to the vain appearances of ſtrength and numbers. In a council of war, which was influenced by pride, rather than by reaſon, it was reſolved to ſeek, and to encounter, the Barbarians; who lay encamped in the ſpacious and fertile meadows, near the moſt ſouthern of the ſix mouths of the Danube [79]. Their camp was ſurrounded by the uſual fortification of waggons [80]; and the Barbarians, ſecure within the vaſt circle of the incloſure, enjoyed the fruits of their valour, and the ſpoils of the province. In the midſt of riotous intemperance, the watchful Fritigern obſerved the motions, and penetrated the deſigns, of the Romans. He perceived, that the numbers

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of the enemy were continually increaſing; and, as he underſtood their intention of attacking his rear, as ſoon as the ſcarcity of forage ſhould oblige him to remove his camp, he recalled to their ſtandard his predatory detachments, which covered the adjacent country. As ſoon as they deſcried the flaming beacons [91], they obeyed, with incredible ſpeed, the ſignal of their leader; the camp was filled with the martial crowd of Barbarians; their impatient clamours demanded the battle, and their tumultuous zeal was approved and animated by the ſpirit of their chiefs. The evening was already far advanced; and the two armies prepared themſelves for the approaching combat, which was deferred only till the dawn of day. While the trumpets ſounded to arms, the undaunted courage of the Goths was confirmed by the mutual obligation of a ſolemn oath; and as they advanced to meet the enemy, the rude ſongs, which celebrated the glory of their forefathers, were mingled with their fierce and diſſonant outcries; and oppoſed to the artificial harmony of the Roman ſhout. Some military ſkill was diſplayed by Fritigern to gain the advantage of a commanding eminence; but the bloody conflict, which began and ended with the light, was maintained, on either ſide, by the perſonal and obſtinate efforts of ſtrength, valour, and agility. The legions of Armenia ſupported their fame in arms; but they were oppreſſed by the irreſiſtible weight of the hoſtile multitude: the left wing of the Romans was thrown

into diſorder, and the field was ſtrewed with their mangled carcaſſes. This partial defeat was balanced, however, by partial ſucceſs; and when the two armies, at a late hour of the evening, retreated to their reſpective camps, neither of them could claim the honours, or the effects, of a deciſive victory. The real loſs was more ſeverely felt by the Romans, in proportion to the ſmallneſs of their numbers; but the Goths were ſo deeply confounded and diſmayed by this vigorous, and perhaps unexpected, reſiſtance, that they remained ſeven days within the circle of their fortifications. Such funeral rites, as the circumſtances of time and place would admit, were pioully diſcharged to ſome officers of diſtinguiſhed rank; but the indiſcriminate vulgar was left unburied on the plain. Their fleſh was greedily devoured by the birds of prey, who, in that age, enjoyed very frequent and delicious feaſts; and ſeveral years afterwards the white and naked bones, which covered the wide extent of the fields, preſented to the eyes of Ammianus, a dreadful monument of the battle of Salices [82]. CHAP. XXVI.

The progreſs of the Goths had been checked by the doubtful event of that bloody day; and the Imperial generals, whoſe army would have been conſumed by the repetition of ſuch a conteſt, embraced the more rational plan, of deſtroying the Barbarians, by the wants and preſſure of their own multitudes. They prepared to confine the Viſigoths in the narrow angle of land, between Union of the Goths with the Huns, Alani, etc.

CHAP. XXVI. the Danube, the deſert of Scythia, and the mountains of Hæmus, till their ſtrength and ſpirit ſhould be inſenſibly waſted by the inevitable operation of famine. The deſign was proſecuted with ſome conduct and ſucceſs; the Barbarians had almoſt exhauſted their own magazines, and the harveſts of the country; and the diligence of Saturninus, the maſter-general of the cavalry, was employed to improve the ſtrength, and to contract the extent, of the Roman fortifications. His labours were interrupted by the alarming intelligence, that new ſwarms of Barbarians had paſſed the unguarded Danube, either to ſupport the cauſe, or to imitate the example, of Fritigern. The juſt apprehenſion, that he himſelf might be ſurrounded, and overwhelmed, by the arms of hoſtile and unknown nations, compelled Saturninus to relinquiſh the ſiege of the Gothic camp: and the indignant Viſigoths, breaking from their confinement, ſatiated their hunger and revenge, by the repeated devaſtation of the fruitful country, which extends above three hundred miles from the banks of the Danube to the ſtreights of the Helleſpont [81]. The ſagacious Fritigern had ſucceſsfully appealed to the paſſions, as well as to the intereſt, of his Barbarian allies, and the love of rapine, and the hatred of Rome, ſeconded, or even prevented, the eloquence of his ambaſſadors. He cemented a ſtrict and uſeful alliance with the great body of his countrymen, who obeyed Alatheus and Saphrax as the guardians of their infant king; the long animoſity of rival tribes

was ſuſpended by the ſenſe of their common intereſt; the independent part of the nation was aſſociated under one ſtandard; and the chiefs of the Oſtrogoths appear to have yielded to the ſuperior genius of the general of the Viſigoths. He obtained the formidable aid of the Taifalæ, whoſe military renown was diſgraced and polluted by the public infamy of their domeſtic manners. Every youth, on his entrance into the world, was united by the ties of honourable friendſhip, and brutal love, to ſome warrior of the tribe; nor could he hope to be releaſed from this unnatural connection, till he had approved his manhood, by ſlaying, in ſingle combat, a huge bear, or a wild boar of the foreſt [84]. But the moſt powerful auxiliaries of the Goths were drawn from the camp of thoſe enemies who had expelled them from their native ſeats. The looſe ſubordination, and extenſive poſſeſſions, of the Huns and the Alani, delayed the conqueſts, and diſtracted the councils, of that victorious people. Several of the hords were allured by the liberal promiſes of Fritigern; and the rapid cavalry of Scythia, added weight and energy to the ſteady and ſtrenuous efforts of the Gothic infantry. The Sarmatians, who could never forgive the ſucceſſor of Valentinian, enjoyed and increaſed the general confuſion; and a ſeaſonable irruption of the Alemanni, into the provinces of Gaul, engaged the attention, and diverted the forces, of the emperor of the Weſt [85].

CHAP. XXVI. Victory of Gratian over the Alemanni, A. D. 378. May.

One of the moſt dangerous inconveniences of the introduction of the Barbarians into the army and the palace, was ſenſibly felt in their correſpondence with their hoſtile countrymen; to whom they imprudently, or maliciouſly, revealed the weakneſs of the Roman empire. A ſoldier, of the life-guards of Gratian, was of the nation of the Alemanni, and of the tribe of the Lentienſes, who dwelt beyond the lake of Conſtance. Some domeſtic buſineſs obliged him to requeſt a leave of abſence. In a ſhort viſit to his family and friends, he was expoſed to their curious inquiries; and the vanity of the loquacious ſoldier tempted him to diſplay his intimate acquaintance with the ſecrets of the ſtate, and the deſigns of his maſter. The intelligence, that Gratian was preparing to lead the military force of Gaul, and of the Weſt, to the aſſiſtance of his uncle Valens, pointed out to the reſtleſs ſpirit of the Alemanni, the moment, and the mode, of a ſucceſsful invaſion. The enterpriſe of ſome light detachments, who, in the month of February, paſſed the Rhine upon the ice, was the prelude of a more important war. The boldeſt hopes of rapine, perhaps of conqueſt, outweighed the conſiderations of timid prudence, or national faith. Every foreſt, and every village, poured forth a band of hardy adventurers; and the great army of the Alemanni, which, on their approach, was eſtimated at forty thouſand men by the fears of the people, was afterwards magnified to the number of ſeventy thouſand, by the vain and credulous flattery of the Imperial court. The legions, which

had been ordered to march into Pannonia, were immediately recalled, or detained, for the defence of Gaul; the military command was divided between Nanienus and Mellobaudes; and the youthful emperor, though he reſpected the long experience and ſober wiſdom of the former, was much more inclined to admire, and to follow, the martial ardour of his colleague, who was allowed to unite the incompatible characters of count of the domeſtics, and of king of the Franks. His rival Priarius, king of the Alemanni, was guided, or rather impelled, by the ſame headſtrong valour; and as their troops were animated by the ſpirit of their leaders, they met, they ſaw, they encountered, each other, near the town of Argentaria, or Colmar [11], in the plains of Alſace. The glory of the day was juſtly aſcribed to the miſſile weapons, and well-practiſed evolutions of the Roman ſoldiers: the Alemanni, who long maintained their ground, were ſlaughtered with unrelenting fury: five thouſand only of the Barbarians eſcaped to the woods and mountains; and the glorious death of their king on the field of battle, ſaved him from the reproaches of the people, who are always diſpoſed to accuſe the juſtice, or policy, of an unſucceſsful war. After this ſignal victory, which ſecured the peace of Gaul, and aſſerted the honour of the Roman arms, the emperor Gratian appeared to proceed without delay on his Eaſtern expedition; but as he approached the confines of the Alemanni, he ſuddenly inclined to the left, ſurpriſed

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them by his unexpected paſſage of the Rhine, and boldly advanced into the heart of their country. The Barbarians oppoſed to his progreſs the obſtacles of nature and of courage; and ſtill continued to retreat, from one hill to another, till they were ſatisfied, by repeated trials, of the power and perſeverance of their enemies. Their ſubmiſſion was accepted, as a proof, not indeed of their ſincere repentance, but of their actual diſtreſs; and a ſelect number of their brave and robuſt youth was exacted from the faithleſs nation, as the moſt ſubſtantial pledge of their future moderation. The ſubjects of the empire, who had ſo often experienced, that the Alemanni could neither be ſubdued by arms, nor reſtrained by treaties, might not promiſe themſelves any ſolid or laſting tranquillity: but they diſcovered, in the virtues of their young ſovereign, the proſpect of a long and auſpicious reign. When the legions climbed the mountains, and ſcaled the fortifications, of the Barbarians, the valour of Gratian was diſtinguiſhed in the foremoſt ranks; and the gilt and variegated armour of his guards was pierced and ſhattered by the blows, which they had received in their conſtant attachment to the perſon of their ſovereign. At the age of nineteen, the ſon of Valentinian ſeemed to poſſeſs the talents of peace and war; and his perſonal ſucceſs againſt the Alemanni was interpreted as a ſure preſage of his Gothic triumphs [27].

Valens marches againſt the

While Gratian deſerved and enjoyed the applauſe of his ſubjects, the emperor Valens, who,

at length, had removed his court and army from Antioch, was received by the people of Conſtantinople as the author of the public calamity. Before he had repoſed himſelf ten days in the capital, he was urged, by the licentious clamours of the Hippodrome, to march againſt the Barbarians, whom he had invited into his dominions: and the citizens, who are always brave at a diſtance from any real danger, declared, with confidence, that, if they were ſupplied with arms, *they* alone would undertake to deliver the province from the ravages of an inſulting foe [88]. The vain reproaches of an ignorant multitude haſtened the downfal of the Roman empire; they provoked the deſperate raſhneſs of Valens; who did not find, either in his reputation, or in his mind, any motives to ſupport with firmneſs the public contempt. He was ſoon perſuaded, by the ſucceſsful atchievements of his lieutenants, to deſpiſe the power of the Goths, who, by the diligence of Fritigern, were now collected in the neighbourhood of Hadrianople. The march of the Taifalæ had been intercepted by the valiant Frigerid; the king of thoſe licentious Barbarians was ſlain in battle; and the ſuppliant captives were ſent into diſtant exile to cultivate the lands of Italy, which were aſſigned for their ſettlement, in the vacant territories of Modena and Parma [89]. The exploits of Sebaſtian [90], who was recently engaged in the ſervice of Valens, and promoted to the rank of maſter-general of the infantry, were ſtill more honourable to himſelf,

CHAP. XXVI. Goths, A. D 378. May 30— June 11.

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and uſeful to the republic. He obtained the permiſſion of ſelecting three hundred ſoldiers from each of the legions; and this ſeparate detachment ſoon acquired the ſpirit of diſcipline, and the exerciſe of arms, which were almoſt forgotten under the reign of Valens. By the vigour and conduct of Sebaſtian, a large body of the Goths was ſurpriſed in their camp: and the immenſe ſpoil, which was recovered from their hands, filled the city of Hadrianople, and the adjacent plain. The ſplendid narratives, which the general tranſmitted of his own exploits, alarmed the Imperial court by the appearance of ſuperior merit; and though he cautiouſly inſiſted on the difficulties of the Gothic war, his valour was praiſed, his advice was rejected; and Valens, who liſtened with pride and pleaſure to the flattering ſuggeſtions of the eunuchs of the palace, was impatient to ſeize the glory of an eaſy and aſſured conqueſt. His army was ſtrengthened by a numerous reinforcement of veterans; and his march from Conſtantinople to Hadrianople was conducted with ſo much military ſkill, that he prevented the activity of the Barbarians, who deſigned to occupy the intermediate defiles, and to intercept either the troops themſelves, or their convoys of proviſions. The camp of Valens, which he pitched under the walls of Hadrianople, was fortified, according to the practice of the Romans, with a ditch and rampart; and a moſt important council was ſummoned, to decide the fate of the emperor and of the empire. The

party of reaſon and of delay was ſtrenuouſly maintained by Victor, who had corrected, by the leſſons of experience, the native fierceneſs of the Sarmatian character; while Sebaſtian, with the flexible and obſequious eloquence of a courtier, repreſented every precaution, and every meaſure, that implied a doubt of immediate victory, as unworthy of the courage and majeſty of their invincible monarch. The ruin of Valens was precipitated by the deceitful arts of Fritigern, and the prudent admonitions of the emperor of the Weſt. The advantages of negociating in the midſt of war, were perfectly underſtood by the general of the Barbarians; and a Chriſtian eccleſiaſtic was diſpatched, as the holy miniſter of peace, to penetrate, and to perplex, the councils of the enemy. The misfortunes, as well as the provocations, of the Gothic nation, were forcibly and truly deſcribed by their ambaſſador; who proteſted, in the name of Fritigern, that he was ſtill diſpoſed to lay down his arms, or to employ them only in the defence of the empire; if he could ſecure, for his wandering countrymen, a tranquil ſettlement on the waſte lands of Thrace, and a ſufficient allowance of corn and cattle. But he added, in a whiſper of confidential friendſhip, that the exaſperated Barbarians were averſe to theſe reaſonable conditions; and, that Fritigern was doubtful whether he could accompliſh the concluſion of the treaty, unleſs he found himſelf ſupported by the preſence, and terrors, of an Imperial army. About the ſame time, Count

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Richomer returned from the Weſt, to announce the defeat and ſubmiſſion of the Alemanni, to inform Valens, that his nephew advanced by rapid marches at the head of the veteran and victorious legions of Gaul; and to requeſt, in the name of Gratian, and of the republic, that every dangerous and deciſive meaſure might be ſuſpended, till the junction of the two emperors ſhould enſure the ſucceſs of the Gothic war. But the feeble ſovereign of the Eaſt was actuated only by the fatal illuſions of pride and jealouſy. He diſdained the importunate advice; he rejected the humiliating aid; he ſecretly compared the ignominious, at leaſt the inglorious, period of his own reign, with the fame of a beardleſs youth; and Valens ruſhed into the field, to erect his imaginary trophy, before the diligence of his colleague ſhould uſurp any ſhare of the triumphs of the day.

Battle of Hadrianople, A. D. 378. Aug. 9th.

On the ninth of Auguſt, a day which has deſerved to be marked among the moſt inauſpicious of the Roman Calendar [91], the emperor Valens, leaving, under a ſtrong guard, his baggage and military treaſure, marched from Hadrianople to attack the Goths, who were encamped about twelve miles from the city [92]. By ſome miſtake of the orders, or ſome ignorance of the ground, the right wing, or column of cavalry, arrived in ſight of the enemy, whilſt the left was ſtill at a conſiderable diſtance; the ſoldiers were compelled, in the ſultry heat of ſummer, to precipitate their pace; and the line of battle was formed with tedious confuſion, and irregular

delay. The Gothic cavalry had been detached to forage in the adjacent country; and Fritigern ſtill continued to practiſe his cuſtomary arts. He diſpatched meſſengers of peace, made propoſals, required hoſtages, and waſted the hours, till the Romans, expoſed without ſhelter to the burning rays of the ſun, were exhauſted by thirſt, hunger, and intolerable fatigue. The emperor was perſuaded to ſend an ambaſſador to the Gothic camp; the zeal of Richomer, who alone had courage to accept the dangerous commiſſion, was applauded: and the count of the domeſtics, adorned with the ſplendid enſigns of his dignity, had proceeded ſome way in the ſpace between the two armies, when he was ſuddenly recalled by the alarm of battle. The haſty and imprudent attack was made by Bacurius the Iberian, who commanded a body of archers and targetteers; and as they advanced with raſhneſs, they retreated with loſs and diſgrace. In the ſame moment, the flying ſquadrons of Alatheus and Saphrax, whoſe return was anxiouſly expected by the general of the Goths, deſcended like a whirlwind from the hills, ſwept acroſs the plain, and added new terrors to the tumultuous, but irreſiſtible, charge of the Barbarian hoſt. The event of the battle of Hadrianople, ſo fatal to Valens and to the empire, may be deſcribed in a few words: the Roman cavalry fled; the infantry was abandoned, ſurrounded, and cut in pieces. The moſt ſkilful evolutions, the firmeſt courage, are ſcarcely ſufficient to extricate a body of foot, encompaſſed, on an open plain, by

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The defeat of the Romans.

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ſuperior numbers of horſe: but the troops of Valens, oppreſſed by the weight of the enemy and their own fears, were crowded into a narrow ſpace, where it was impoſſible for them to extend their ranks, or even to uſe, with effect, their ſwords and javelins. In the midſt of tumult, of ſlaughter, and of diſmay, the emperor, deſerted by his guards, and wounded, as it was ſuppoſed, with an arrow, ſought protection among the Lancearii and the Mattiarii, who ſtill maintained their ground with ſome appearance of order and firmneſs. His faithful generals, Trajan and Victor, who perceived his danger, loudly exclaimed, that all was loſt, unleſs the perſon of the emperor could be ſaved. Some troops, animated by their exhortation, advanced to his relief: they found only a bloody ſpot, covered with a heap of broken arms and mangled bodies, without being able to diſcover their unfortunate prince, either among the living, or the dead. Their ſearch could not indeed be ſucceſsful, if there is any truth in the circumſtances with which ſome hiſtorians have related the death of the emperor. By the care of his attendants, Valens was removed from the field of battle to a neighbouring cottage, where they attempted to dreſs his wound, and to provide for his future ſafety. But this humble retreat was inſtantly ſurrounded by the enemy: they tried to force the door; they were provoked by a diſcharge of arrows from the roof; till at length, impatient of delay, they ſet fire to a pile of dry faggots, and conſumed the cottage, with

Death of the emperor Valens.

the Roman emperor and his train. Valens periſhed in the flames; and a youth who dropt from the window, alone eſcaped, to atteſt the melancholy tale, and to inform the Goths of the ineſtimable prize which they had loſt by their own raſhneſs. A great number of brave and diſtinguiſhed officers periſhed in the battle of Hadrianople, which equalled, in the actual loſs, and far ſurpaſſed, in the fatal conſequences, the misfortune which Rome had formerly ſuſtained in the fields of Cannæ [92]. Two maſter-generals of the cavalry and infantry, two great officers of the palace, and thirty-five tribunes, were found among the ſlain; and the death of Sebaſtian might ſatisfy the world, that he was the victim, as well as the author, of the public calamity. Above two-thirds of the Roman army were deſtroyed: and the darkneſs of the night was eſteemed a very favourable circumſtance, as it ſerved to conceal the flight of the multitude, and to protect the more orderly retreat of Victor and Richomer, who alone, amidſt the general conſternation, maintained the advantage of calm courage, and regular diſcipline [93]. CHAP. XXVI.

Funeral oration of Valens and his army.

While the impreſſions of grief and terror were ſtill recent in the minds of men, the moſt celebrated rhetorician of the age compoſed the funeral oration of a vanquiſhed army, and of an unpopular prince, whoſe throne was already occupied by a ſtranger. "There are not wanting," ſays the candid Libanius, "thoſe who arraign "the prudence of the emperor, or who impute "the public misfortune to the want of courage

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" and diſcipline in the troops. For my own part, " I reverence the memory of their former ex- " ploits: I reverence the glorious death, which " they bravely received, ſtanding, and fighting " in their ranks: I reverence the field of battle, " ſtained with *their* blood, and the blood of the " Barbarians. Thoſe honourable marks have been " already waſhed away by the rains; but the " lofty monuments of their bones, the bones " of generals, of centurions, and of valiant war- " riors, claim a longer period of duration. The " king himſelf fought and fell in the foremoſt " ranks of the battle. His attendants preſented " him with the fleeteſt horſes of the Imperial " ſtable, that would ſoon have carried him be- " yond the purſuit of the enemy. They vainly " preſſed him to reſerve his important life for the " future ſervice of the republic. He ſtill declared, " that he was unworthy to ſurvive ſo many of " the braveſt and moſt faithful of his ſubjects; " and the monarch was nobly buried under a " mountain of the ſlain. Let none, therefore, " preſume to aſcribe the victory of the Barba- " rians to the fear, the weakneſs, or the impru- " dence, of the Roman troops. The chiefs and " the ſoldiers were animated by the virtue of " their anceſtors, whom they equalled in diſcipline, " and the arts of war. Their generous emulation " was ſupported by the love of glory, which " prompted them to contend at the ſame time " with heat and thirſt, with fire and the ſword; " and cheerfully to embrace an honourable death,

" as

" as their refuge againſt flight and infamy. The " indignation of the gods has been the only cauſe " of the ſucceſs of our enemies." The truth of hiſtory may diſclaim ſome parts of this panegyric, which cannot ſtrictly be reconciled with the character of Valens, or the circumſtances of the battle: but the faireſt commendation is due to the eloquence, and ſtill more to the generoſity, of the ſophiſt of Antioch [*].

The pride of the Goths was elated by this memorable victory; but their avarice was diſappointed by the mortifying diſcovery, that the richeſt part of the Imperial ſpoil had been within the walls of Hadrianople. They haſtened to poſſeſs the reward of their valour; but they were encountered by the remains of a vanquiſhed army, with an intrepid reſolution, which was the effect of their deſpair, and the only hope of their ſafety. The walls of the city, and the ramparts of the adjacent camp, were lined with military engines, that threw ſtones of an enormous weight; and aſtoniſhed the ignorant Barbarians by the noiſe, and velocity, ſtill more than by the real effects, of the diſcharge. The ſoldiers, the citizens, the provincials, the domeſtics of the palace, were united in the danger, and in the defence: the furious aſſault of the Goths was repulſed; their ſecret arts of treachery and treaſon were diſcovered; and, after an obſtinate conflict of many hours, they retired to their tents; convinced, by experience, that it would be far more adviſable to obſerve the treaty, which their ſagacious leader

The Goths beſiege Hadrianople.

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had tacitly ſtipulated with the fortifications of great and populous cities. After the haſty and impolitic maſſacre of three hundred deſerters, an act of juſtice extremely uſeful to the diſcipline of the Roman armies, the Goths indignantly raiſed the ſiege of Hadrianople. The ſcene of war and tumult was inſtantly converted into a ſilent ſolitude: the multitude ſuddenly diſappeared; the ſecret paths of the woods and mountains were marked with the footſteps of the trembling fugitives, who ſought a refuge in the diſtant cities of Illyricum and Macedonia: and the faithful officers of the houſehold, and the treaſury, cautiouſly proceeded in ſearch of the emperor, of whoſe death they were ſtill ignorant. The tide of the Gothic inundation rolled from the walls of Hadrianople to the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople. The Barbarians were ſurpriſed with the ſplendid appearance of the capital of the Eaſt, the height and extent of the walls, the myriads of wealthy and affrighted citizens who crowded the ramparts, and the various proſpect of the ſea and land. While they gazed with hopeleſs deſire on the inacceſſible beauties of Conſtantinople, a ſally was made from one of the gates by a party of Saracens [*], who had been fortunately engaged in the ſervice of Valens. The cavalry of Scythia was forced to yield to the admirable ſwiftneſs and ſpirit of the Arabian horſes; their riders were ſkilled in the evolutions of irregular war; and the Northern Barbarians were aſtoniſhed, and diſmayed, by the inhuman ferocity of the Barbarians of the South. A Gothic ſoldier was ſlain by the

dagger of an Arab; and the hairy, naked ſavage, applying his lips to the wound, expreſſed a horrid delight, while he ſucked the blood of his vanquiſhed enemy [97]. The army of the Goths, laden with the ſpoils of the wealthy ſuburbs, and the adjacent territory, ſlowly moved, from the Boſphorus, to the mountains which form the weſtern boundary of Thrace. The important paſs of Succi was betrayed by the fear, or the miſconduct, of Maurus; and the Barbarians, who no longer had any reſiſtance to apprehend from the ſcattered and vanquiſhed troops of the Eaſt, ſpread themſelves over the face of a fertile and cultivated country, as far as the confines of Italy, and the Hadriatic Sea [98].

They ravage the Roman provinces, A. D. 378, 379.

The Romans, who ſo coolly, and ſo conciſely, mention the acts of *juſtice* which were exerciſed by the legions [99], reſerve their compaſſion, and their eloquence, for their own ſufferings, when the provinces were invaded, and deſolated, by the arms of the ſucceſsful Barbarians. The ſimple circumſtantial narrative (did ſuch a narrative exiſt) of the ruin of a ſingle town, of the misfortunes of a ſingle family [100], might exhibit an intereſting and inſtructive picture of human manners: but the tedious repetition of vague and declamatory complaints would fatigue the attention of the moſt patient reader. The ſame cenſure may be applied, though not perhaps in an equal degree, to the prophane, and the eccleſiaſtical, writers of this unhappy period; that their minds were inflamed by popular, and religious animoſity;

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and, that the true ſize and colour of every object is falſified by the exaggerations of their corrupt eloquence. The vehement Jerom [101] might juſtly deplore the calamities inflicted by the Goths, and their barbarous allies, on his native country of Pannonia, and the wide extent of the provinces, from the walls of Conſtantinople to the foot of the Julian Alps; the rapes, the maſſacres, the conflagrations; and, above all, the profanation of the churches, that were turned into ſtables, and the contemptuous treatment of the relics of holy martyrs. But the Saint is ſurely tranſported beyond the limits of nature and hiſtory, when he affirms, "that, in thoſe deſert countries, "nothing was left except the ſky and the earth; "that, after the deſtruction of the cities, and "the extirpation of the human race, the land "was overgrown with thick foreſts, and inex- "tricable brambles, and that the univerſal deſo- "lation, announced by the prophet Zephaniah, "was accompliſhed, in the ſcarcity of the beaſts, "the birds, and even of the fiſh." Theſe complaints were pronounced about twenty years after the death of Valens; and the Illyrian provinces, which were conſtantly expoſed to the invaſion and paſſage of the Barbarians, ſtill continued, after a calamitous period of ten centuries, to ſupply new materials for rapine and deſtruction. Could it even be ſuppoſed, that a large tract of country had been left without cultivation and without inhabitants, the conſequences might not have been ſo fatal to the inferior productions of

animated nature. The uſeful and feeble animals, which are nouriſhed by the hand of man, might ſuffer and periſh, if they were deprived of his protection; but the beaſts of the foreſt, his enemies, or his victims, would multiply in the free and undiſturbed poſſeſſion of their ſolitary domain. The various tribes that people the air, or the waters, are ſtill leſs connected with the fate of the human ſpecies; and it is highly probable, that the fiſh of the Danube would have felt more terror and diſtreſs, from the approach of a voracious pike, than from the hoſtile inroad of a Gothic army.

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Maſſacre of the Gothic youth in Aſia, A. D. 378.

Whatever may have been the juſt meaſure of the calamities of Europe, there was reaſon to fear that the ſame calamities would ſoon extend to the peaceful countries of Aſia. The ſons of the Goths had been judiciouſly diſtributed through the cities of the Eaſt, and the arts of education were employed, to poliſh, and ſubdue, the native fierceneſs of their temper. In the ſpace of about twelve years, their numbers had continually increaſed; and the children, who, in the firſt emigration, were ſent over the Helleſpont, had attained, with rapid growth, the ſtrength and ſpirit of perfect manhood [102]. It was impoſſible to conceal from their knowledge the events of the Gothic war; and, as thoſe daring youths had not ſtudied the language of diſſimulation, they betrayed their wiſh, their deſire, perhaps their intention, to emulate the glorious example of their fathers. The danger of the times ſeemed to

CHAP. XXVI. juſtify the jealous ſuſpicions of the provincials; and theſe ſuſpicions were admitted as unqueſtionable evidence, that the Goths of Aſia had formed a ſecret and dangerous conſpiracy againſt the public ſafety. The death of Valens had left the Eaſt without a ſovereign; and Julius, who filled the important ſtation of maſter-general of the troops, with a high reputation of diligence and ability, thought it his duty to conſult the ſenate of Conſtantinople; which he conſidered, during the vacancy of the throne, as the repreſentative council of the nation. As ſoon as he had obtained the diſcretionary power of acting as he ſhould judge moſt expedient for the good of the republic, he aſſembled the principal officers; and privately concerted effectual meaſures for the execution of his bloody deſign. An order was immediately promulgated, that, on a ſtated day, the Gothic youth ſhould aſſemble in the capital cities of their reſpective provinces; and, as a report was induſtriouſly circulated, that they were ſummoned to receive a liberal gift of lands and money, the pleaſing hope allayed the fury of their reſentment, and perhaps ſuſpended the motions of the conſpiracy. On the appointed day, the unarmed crowd of the Gothic youth was carefully collected in the ſquare, or Forum: the ſtreets and avenues were occupied by the Roman troops; and the roofs of the houſes were covered with archers and ſlingers. At the ſame hour, in all the cities of the Eaſt, the ſignal was given of indiſcriminate ſlaughter; and the provinces of Aſia were

delivered, by the cruel prudence of Julius, from a domeſtic enemy, who, in a few months, might have carried fire and ſword from the Helleſpont to the Euphrates [103]. The urgent conſideration of the public ſafety may undoubtedly authoriſe the violation of every poſitive law. How far that, or any other, conſideration may operate, to diſſolve the natural obligations of humanity and juſtice, is a doctrine, of which I ſtill deſire to remain ignorant.

The emperor Gratian invests Theodoſius with the empire of the East, A. D. 379. Jan. 19.

The emperor Gratian was far advanced on his march towards the plains of Hadrianople, when he was informed, at firſt by the confuſed voice of fame, and afterwards by the more accurate reports of Victor and Richomer, that his impatient colleague had been ſlain in battle, and that two-thirds of the Roman army were exterminated by the ſword of the victorious Goths. Whatever reſentment the raſh and jealous vanity of his uncle might deſerve, the reſentment of a generous mind is eaſily ſubdued by the ſofter emotions of grief and compaſſion: and even the ſenſe of pity was ſoon loſt in the ſerious and alarming conſideration of the ſtate of the republic. Gratian was too late to aſſiſt, he was too weak to revenge, his unfortunate colleague; and the valiant and modeſt youth felt himſelf unequal to the ſupport of a ſinking world. A formidable tempeſt of the Barbarians of Germany ſeemed ready to burſt over the provinces of Gaul; and the mind of Gratian was oppreſſed, and diſtracted, by the adminiſtration of the Weſtern Empire. In this important

CHAP. XXVI. criſis, the government of the Eaſt, and the conduct of the Gothic war, required the undivided attention of a hero and a ſtateſman. A ſubject inveſted with ſuch ample command would not long have preſerved his fidelity to a diſtant benefactor; and the Imperial council embraced the wiſe and manly reſolution, of conferring an obligation, rather than of yielding to an inſult. It was the wiſh of Gratian to beſtow the purple as the reward of virtue; but, at the age of nineteen, it is not eaſy for a prince, educated in the ſupreme rank, to underſtand the true characters of his miniſters and generals. He attempted to weigh, with an impartial hand, their various merits and defects; and, whilſt he checked the raſh confidence of ambition, he diſtruſted the cautious wiſdom, which deſpaired of the republic. As each moment of delay diminiſhed ſomething of the power and reſources of the future ſovereign of the Eaſt, the ſituation of the times would not allow a tedious debate. The choice of Gratian was ſoon declared in favour of an exile, whoſe father, only three years before, had ſuffered, under the ſanction of *his* authority, an unjuſt and ignominious death. The great Theodoſius, a name celebrated in hiſtory, and dear to the Catholic Church [104], was ſummoned to the Imperial court, which had gradually retreated from the confines of Thrace to the more ſecure ſtation of Sirmium. Five months after the death of Valens, the emperor Gratian produced before the aſſembled troops, *his* colleague, and *their* maſter; who, after

a modeſt, perhaps a ſincere, reſiſtance, was compelled to accept, amidſt the general acclamations, the diadem, the purple, and the equal title of Auguſtus [105]. The provinces of Thrace, Aſia, and Egypt, over which Valens had reigned, were reſigned to the adminiſtration of the new emperor: but, as he was ſpecially entruſted with the conduct of the Gothic war, the Illyrian præfecture was diſmembered; and the two great dioceſes of Dacia and Macedonia were added to the dominions of the Eaſtern empire [106]. CHAP. XXVI.

The ſame province, and, perhaps, the ſame city [107], which had given to the throne the virtues of Trajan, and the talents of Hadrian, was the original ſeat of another family of Spaniards, who, in a leſs fortunate age, poſſeſſed, near fourſcore years, the declining empire of Rome [108]. They emerged from the obſcurity of municipal honours by the active ſpirit of the elder Theodoſius, a general, whoſe exploits in Britain and Africa have formed one of the moſt ſplendid parts of the annals of Valentinian. The ſon of that general, who likewiſe bore the name of Theodoſius, was educated, by ſkilful preceptors, in the liberal ſtudies of youth; but he was inſtructed in the art of war by the tender care and ſevere diſcipline of his father [109]. Under the ſtandard of ſuch a leader, young Theodoſius ſought glory and knowledge, in the moſt diſtant ſcenes of military action; inured his conſtitution to the difference of ſeaſons and climates; diſtinguiſhed his valour by ſea and land; and obſerved

Birth and character of Theodoſius.

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the various warfare of the Scots, the Saxons, and the Moors. His own merit, and the recommendation of the conqueror of Africa, ſoon raiſed him to a ſeparate command: and, in the ſtation of Duke of Mæſia, he vanquiſhed an army of Sarmatians; ſaved the province; deſerved the love of the ſoldiers; and provoked the envy of the court [110]. His riſing fortunes were ſoon blaſted by the diſgrace and execution of his illuſtrious father; and Theodoſius obtained, as a favour, the permiſſion of retiring to a private life, in his native province of Spain. He diſplayed a firm and temperate character in the eaſe with which he adapted himſelf to his new ſituation. His time was almoſt equally divided between the town and country: the ſpirit, which had animated his public conduct, was ſhewn in the active and affectionate performance of every ſocial duty; and the diligence of the ſoldier was profitably converted to the improvement of his ample patrimony [111], which lay between Valladolid and Segovia, in the midſt of a fruitful diſtrict, ſtill famous for a moſt exquiſite breed of ſheep [112]. From the innocent, but humble, labours of his farm, Theodoſius was tranſported, in leſs than four months, to the throne of the Eaſtern empire: and the whole period of the hiſtory of the world will not perhaps afford a ſimilar example, of an elevation, at the ſame time, ſo pure, and ſo honourable. The princes who peaceably inherit the ſceptre of their fathers, claim and enjoy a legal right, the more ſecure, as it is abſolutely diſtinct from the merits of their

perſonal characters. The ſubjects, who, in a monarchy, or a popular ſtate, acquire the poſſeſſion of ſupreme power, may have raiſed themſelves, by the ſuperiority either of genius or virtue, above the heads of their equals: but their virtue is ſeldom exempt from ambition; and the cauſe of the ſucceſsful candidate is frequently ſtained by the guilt of conſpiracy, or civil war. Even in thoſe governments which allow the reigning monarch to declare a colleague, or a ſucceſſor, his partial choice, which may be influenced by the blindeſt paſſions, is often directed to an unworthy object. But the moſt ſuſpicious malignity cannot aſcribe to Theodoſius, in his obſcure ſolitude of Caucha, the arts, the deſires, or even the hopes, of an ambitious ſtateſman; and the name of the exile would long ſince have been forgotten, if his genuine and diſtinguiſhed virtues had not left a deep impreſſion in the Imperial court. During the ſeaſon of proſperity, he had been neglected; but, in the public diſtreſs, his ſuperior merit was univerſally felt and acknowledged. What confidence muſt have been repoſed in his integrity, ſince Gratian could truſt, that a pious ſon would forgive, for the ſake of the republic, the murder of his father! What expectations muſt have been formed of his abilities, to encourage the hope, that a ſingle man could ſave, and reſtore, the empire of the Eaſt! Theodoſius was inveſted with the purple in the thirty-third year of his age. The vulgar gazed with admiration on the manly beauty of his face, and the graceful

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majeſty of his perſon, which they were pleaſed to compare with the pictures and medals of the emperor Trajan; whilſt intelligent obſervers diſcovered, in the qualities of his heart and underſtanding, a more important reſemblance to the beſt and greateſt of the Roman princes.

His prudent and ſucceſsful conduct of the Gothic war. A. D. 379—382.

It is not without the moſt ſincere regret, that I muſt now take leave of an accurate and faithful guide, who has compoſed the hiſtory of his own times, without indulging the prejudices and paſſions, which uſually affect the mind of a contemporary. Ammianus Marcellinus, who terminates his uſeful work with the defeat and death of Valens, recommends the more glorious ſubject of the enſuing reign to the youthful vigour and eloquence of the riſing generation [113]. The riſing generation was not diſpoſed to accept his advice, or to imitate his example [114]; and, in the ſtudy of the reign of Theodoſius, we are reduced to illuſtrate the partial narrative of Zoſimus, by the obſcure hints of fragments and chronicles, by the figurative ſtyle of poetry or panegyric, and by the precarious aſſiſtance of the eccleſiaſtical writers, who, in the heat of religious faction, are apt to deſpiſe the profane virtues of ſincerity and moderation. Conſcious of theſe diſadvantages, which will continue to involve a conſiderable portion of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, I ſhall proceed with doubtful and timorous ſteps. Yet I may boldly pronounce, that the battle of Hadrianople was never revenged by any ſignal or deciſive victory of Theodoſius over

the Barbarians; and the expreſſive ſilence of his venal orators may be confirmed by the obſervation of the condition and circumſtances of the times. The fabric of a mighty ſtate, which has been reared by the labours of ſucceſſive ages, could not be overturned by the misfortune of a ſingle day, if the fatal power of the imagination did not exaggerate the real meaſure of the calamity. The loſs of forty thouſand Romans, who fell in the plains of Hadrianople, might have been ſoon recruited in the populous provinces of the Eaſt, which contained ſo many millions of inhabitants. The courage of a ſoldier is found to be the cheapeſt, and moſt common, quality of human nature; and ſufficient ſkill to encounter an undiſciplined foe, might have been ſpeedily taught by the care of the ſurviving centurions. If the Barbarians were mounted on the horſes, and equipped with the armour, of their vanquiſhed enemies, the numerous ſtuds of Cappadocia and Spain would have ſupplied new ſquadrons of cavalry; the thirty-four arſenals of the empire were plentifully ſtored with magazines of offenſive and defenſive arms; and the wealth of Aſia might ſtill have yielded an ample fund for the expences of the war. But the effects which were produced by the battle of Hadrianople on the minds of the Barbarians, and of the Romans, extended the victory of the former, and the defeat of the latter, far beyond the limits of a ſingle day. A Gothic chief was heard to declare, with inſolent moderation, that, for his own part, he was fatigued

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with ſlaughter; but that he was aſtoniſhed how a people, who fled before him like a flock of ſheep, could ſtill preſume to diſpute the poſſeſſion of their treaſures and provinces [115]. The ſame terrors, which the name of the Huns had ſpread among the Gothic tribes, were inſpired, by the formidable name of the Goths, among the ſubjects and ſoldiers of the Roman empire [116]. If Theodoſius, haſtily collecting his ſcattered forces, had led them into the field to encounter a victorious enemy, his army would have been vanquiſhed by their own fears; and his raſhneſs could not have been excuſed by the chance of ſucceſs. But the *great* Theodoſius, an epithet which he honourably deſerved on this momentous occaſion, conducted himſelf as the firm and faithful guardian of the republic. He fixed his head quarters at Theſſalonica, the capital of the Macedonian dioceſe [117]; from whence he could watch the irregular motions of the Barbarians, and direct the operations of his lieutenants, from the gates of Conſtantinople to the ſhores of the Hadriatic. The fortifications and garriſons of the cities were ſtrengthened; and the troops, among whom a ſenſe of order and diſcipline was revived, were inſenſibly emboldened by the confidence of their own ſafety. From theſe ſecure ſtations, they were encouraged to make frequent ſallies on the Barbarians, who infeſted the adjacent country; and, as they were ſeldom allowed to engage, without ſome deciſive ſuperiority, either of ground or of numbers, their enterpriſes

were, for the moſt part, ſucceſsful; and they were ſoon convinced, by their own experience, of the poſſibility of vanquiſhing their *invincible* enemies. The detachments of theſe ſeparate garriſons were gradually united into ſmall armies; the ſame cautious meaſures were purſued, according to an extenſive and well-concerted plan of operations; the events of each day added ſtrength and ſpirit to the Roman arms; and the artful diligence of the emperor, who circulated the moſt favourable reports of the ſucceſs of the war, contributed to ſubdue the pride of the Barbarians, and to animate the hopes and courage of his ſubjects. If, inſtead of this faint and imperfect outline, we could accurately repreſent the counſels and actions of Theodoſius, in four ſucceſſive campaigns, there is reaſon to believe, that his conſummate ſkill would deſerve the applauſe of every military reader. The republic had formerly been ſaved by the delays of Fabius: and, while the ſplendid trophies of Scipio, in the field of Zama, attract the eyes of poſterity, the camps and marches of the Dictator among the hills of Campania, may claim a juſter proportion of the ſolid and independent fame, which the general is not compelled to ſhare, either with fortune or with his troops. Such was likewiſe the merit of Theodoſius; and the infirmities of his body, which moſt unſeaſonably languiſhed under a long and dangerous diſeaſe, could not oppreſs the vigour of his mind, or divert his attention from the public ſervice [118].

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The deliverance and peace of the Roman pro- Diviſions.

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defeat and ſubmiſſion of the Goths, A. D. 379 — 382.

vinces[119] was the work of prudence, rather than of valour; the prudence of Theodoſius was ſeconded by fortune; and the emperor never failed to ſeize, and to improve, every favourable circumſtance. As long as the ſuperior genius of Fritigern preſerved the union, and directed the motions, of the Barbarians, their power was not inadequate to the conqueſt of a great empire. The death of that hero, the predeceſſor and maſter of the renowned Alaric, relieved an impatient multitude from the intolerable yoke of diſcipline and diſcretion. The Barbarians, who had been reſtrained by his authority, abandoned themſelves to the dictates of their paſſions; and their paſſions were ſeldom uniform, or conſiſtent. An army of conquerors was broken into many diſorderly bands of ſavage robbers; and their blind and irregular fury was not leſs pernicious to themſelves, than to their enemies. Their miſchievous diſpoſition was ſhewn in the deſtruction of every object, which they wanted ſtrength to remove, or taſte to enjoy; and they often conſumed, with improvident rage, the harveſts, or the granaries, which ſoon afterwards became neceſſary for their own ſubſiſtence. A ſpirit of diſcord aroſe among the independent tribes and nations, which had been united only by the bands of a looſe and voluntary alliance. The troops of the Huns and the Alani would naturally upbraid the flight of the Goths; who were not diſpoſed to uſe with moderation the advantages of their fortune: the ancient jealouſy of the Oſtrogoths and the Viſigoths could not

not long be ſuſpended; and the haughty chiefs ſtill remembered the inſults and injuries, which they had reciprocally offered, or ſuſtained, while the nation was ſeated in the countries beyond the Danube. The progreſs of domeſtic faction abated the more diffuſive ſentiment of national animoſity; and the officers of Theodoſius were inſtructed to purchaſe, with liberal gifts and promiſes, the retreat, or ſervice, of the diſcontented party. The acquiſition of Modar, a prince of the royal blood of the Amali, gave a bold and faithful champion to the cauſe of Rome. The illuſtrious deſerter ſoon obtained the rank of maſter-general, with an important command; ſurpriſed an army of his countrymen, who were immerſed in wine and ſleep; and, after a cruel ſlaughter of the aſtoniſhed Goths, returned with an immenſe ſpoil, and four thouſand waggons, to the Imperial camp [120]. In the hands of a ſkilful politician, the moſt different means may be ſucceſsfully applied to the ſame ends: and the peace of the empire, which had been forwarded by the diviſions, was accompliſhed by the re-union, of the Gothic nation. Athanaric, who had been a patient ſpectator of theſe extraordinary events, was at length driven, by the chance of arms, from the dark receſſes of the woods of Caucaland. He no longer heſitated to paſs the Danube; and a very conſiderable part of the ſubjects of Fritigern, who already felt the inconveniencies of anarchy, were eaſily perſuaded to acknowledge for their king, a Gothic Judge, whoſe birth they reſpected, and whoſe abilities

Death and funeral of Athanaric, A. D. 381. Jan. 25.

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they had frequently experienced. But age had chilled the daring ſpirit of Athanaric; and, inſtead of leading his people to the field of battle and victory, he wiſely liſtened to the fair propoſal of an honourable and advantageous treaty. Theodoſius, who was acquainted with the merit and power of his new ally, condeſcended to meet him at the diſtance of ſeveral miles from Conſtantinople; and entertained him in the Imperial city, with the confidence of a friend, and the magnificence of a monarch. "The Barbarian prince obſerved, with "curious attention, the variety of objects which "attracted his notice, and at laſt broke out into "a ſincere and paſſionate exclamation of wonder. "I now behold, ſaid he, what I never could "believe, the glories of this ſtupendous capital! "and as he caſt his eyes around, he viewed, and "he admired, the commanding ſituation of the "city, the ſtrength and beauty of the walls and "public edifices, the capacious harbour, crowded "with innumerable veſſels, the perpetual concourſe "of diſtant nations, and the arms and diſcipline "of the troops. Indeed, continued Athanaric, the "emperor of the Romans is a god upon earth; "and the preſumptuous man, who dares to liſt "his hand againſt him, is guilty of his own "blood [121]." The Gothic king did not long enjoy this ſplendid and honourable reception; and, as temperance was not the virtue of his nation, it may juſtly be ſuſpected, that his mortal diſeaſe was contracted amidſt the pleaſures of the Imperial banquets. But the policy of Theodoſius derived

more ſolid benefit from the death, than he could have expected from the moſt faithful ſervices, of his ally. The funeral of Athanaric was performed with ſolemn rites in the capital of the Eaſt; a ſtately monument was erected to his memory; and his whole army, won by the liberal courteſy, and decent grief, of Theodoſius, enliſted under the ſtandard of the Roman empire [122]. The ſubmiſſion of ſo great a body of the Viſigoths was productive of the moſt ſalutary conſequences; and the mixed influence of force, of reaſon, and of corruption, became every day more powerful, and more extenſive. Each independent chieftain haſtened to obtain a ſeparate treaty, from the apprehenſion that an obſtinate delay might expoſe *him*, alone and unprotected, to the revenge, or juſtice, of the conqueror. The general, or rather the final, capitulation of the Goths, may be dated four years, one month, and twenty-five days, after the defeat and death of the emperor Valens [123]. A D. 382. Oct. 3.

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The provinces of the Danube had been already relieved from the oppreſſive weight of the Gruthungi, or Oſtrogoths, by the voluntary retreat of Alatheus and Saphrax; whoſe reſtleſs ſpirit had prompted them to ſeek new ſcenes of rapine and glory. Their deſtructive courſe was pointed towards the Weſt; but we muſt be ſatisfied with a very obſcure and imperfect knowledge of their various adventures. The Oſtrogoths impelled ſeveral of the German tribes on the provinces of Gaul; concluded, and ſoon violated, a treaty with the emperor Gratian; advanced into the unknown

Invaſion and defeat of the Gruthungi, or Oſtrogoths. A. D. 386. October.

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countries of the North; and, after an interval of more than four years, returned, with accumulated force, to the banks of the Lower Danube. Their troops were recruited with the fierceſt warriors of Germany and Scythia; and the ſoldiers, or at leaſt the hiſtorians, of the empire, no longer recogniſed the name and countenances of their former enemies [124]. The general, who commanded the military and naval powers of the Thracian frontier, ſoon perceived that his ſuperiority would be diſadvantageous to the public ſervice; and that the Barbarians, awed by the preſence of his fleet and legions, would probably defer the paſſage of the river till the approaching winter. The dexterity of the ſpies, whom he ſent into the Gothic camp, allured the Barbarians into a fatal ſnare. They were perſuaded, that, by a bold attempt, they might ſurpriſe, in the ſilence and darkneſs of the night, the ſleeping army of the Romans; and the whole multitude was haſtily embarked in a fleet of three thouſand canoes [125]. The braveſt of the Oſtrogoths led the van; the main body conſiſted of the remainder of their ſubjects and ſoldiers; and the women and children ſecurely followed in the rear. One of the nights without a moon had been ſelected for the execution of their deſign; and they had almoſt reached the ſouthern bank of the Danube, in the firm confidence that they ſhould find an eaſy landing, and an unguarded camp. But the progreſs of the Barbarians was ſuddenly ſtopped by an unexpected obſtacle; a triple line of veſſels, ſtrongly connected with each other, and

which formed an impenetrable chain of two miles and a half along the river. While they ſtruggled to force their way in the unequal conflict, their right flank was overwhelmed by the irreſiſtible attack of a fleet of gallies, which were urged down the ſtream by the united impulſe of oars and of the tide. The weight and velocity of thoſe ſhips of war broke, and ſunk, and diſperſed, the rude and feeble canoes of the Barbarians: their valour was ineffectual; and Alatheus, the king, or general, of the Oſtrogoths, periſhed, with his braveſt troops, either by the ſword of the Romans, or in the waves of the Danube. The laſt diviſion of this unfortunate fleet might regain the oppoſite ſhore: but the diſtreſs and diſorder of the multitude rendered them alike incapable, either of action or counſel; and they ſoon implored the clemency of the victorious enemy. On this occaſion, as well as on many others, it is a difficult taſk to reconcile the paſſions and prejudices of the writers of the age of Theodoſius. The partial and malignant hiſtorian, who miſrepreſents every action of his reign, affirms, that the emperor did not appear in the field of battle till the Barbarians had been vanquiſhed by the valour and conduct of his lieutenant Promotus [116]. The flattering poet, who celebrated, in the court of Honorius, the glory of the father and of the ſon, aſcribes the victory to the perſonal proweſs of Theodoſius; and almoſt inſinuates, that the king of the Oſtrogoths was ſlain by the hand of the emperor [117]. The truth of hiſtory might perhaps be found in

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a juſt medium between theſe extreme and contradictory aſſertions.

Settlement of the Goths in Thrace and Aſia, A. D. 383—395.

The original treaty which fixed the ſettlement of the Goths, aſcertained their privileges, and ſtipulated their obligations, would illuſtrate the hiſtory of Theodoſius and his ſucceſſors. The ſeries of their hiſtory has imperfectly preſerved the ſpirit and ſubſtance of this ſingular agreement [111]. The ravages of war and tyranny had provided many large tracts of fertile, but uncultivated land, for the uſe of thoſe Barbarians, who might not diſdain the practice of agriculture. A numerous colony of the Viſigoths was ſeated in Thrace: the remains of the Oſtrogoths were planted in Phrygia and Lydia, their immediate wants were ſupplied by a diſtribution of corn and cattle; and their future induſtry was encouraged by an exemption from tribute, during a certain term of years. The Barbarians would have deſerved to feel the cruel and perfidious policy of the Imperial court, if they had ſuffered themſelves to be diſperſed through the provinces. They required, and they obtained, the ſole poſſeſſion of the villages and diſtricts aſſigned for their reſidence; they ſtill cheriſhed and propagated their native manners and language; aſſerted, in the boſom of deſpotiſm, the freedom of their domeſtic government; and acknowledged the ſovereignty of the emperor, without ſubmitting to the inferior juriſdiction of the laws and magiſtrates of Rome. The hereditary chiefs of the tribes and families were ſtill permitted to command their followers in peace and war; but the royal dignity

was abolished; and the generals of the Goths were appointed and removed at the pleasure of the emperor. An army of forty thousand Goths was maintained for the perpetual service of the empire of the East; and those haughty troops, who assumed the title of *Fœderati*, or allies, were distinguished by their gold collars, liberal pay, and licentious privileges. Their native courage was improved by the use of arms, and the knowledge of discipline; and, while the republic was guarded, or threatened, by the doubtful sword of the Barbarians, the last sparks of the military flame were finally extinguished in the minds of the Romans [119]. Theodosius had the address to persuade his allies, that the conditions of peace which had been extorted from him by prudence and necessity, were the voluntary expressions of his sincere friendship for the Gothic nation [120]. A different mode of vindication or apology was opposed to the complaints of the people; who loudly censured these shameful and dangerous concessions [121]. The calamities of the war were painted in the most lively colours; and the first symptoms of the return of order, of plenty, and security, were diligently exaggerated. The advocates of Theodosius could affirm, with some appearance of truth and reason, that it was impossible to extirpate so many warlike tribes, who were rendered desperate by the loss of their native country; and that the exhausted provinces would be revived by a fresh supply of soldiers and husbandmen. The Barbarians still wore an

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angry and hoſtile aſpect; but the experience of paſt times might encourage the hope, that they would acquire the habits of induſtry and obedience; that their manners would be poliſhed by time, education, and the influence of Chriſtianity; and that their poſterity would inſenſibly blend with the great body of the Roman people [132].

Their hoſtile ſentiments.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſpecious arguments, and theſe ſanguine expectations, it was apparent to every diſcerning eye, that the Goths would long remain the enemies, and might ſoon become the conquerors, of the Roman empire. Their rude and inſolent behaviour expreſſed their contempt of the citizens and provincials, whom they inſulted with impunity [133]. To the zeal and valour of the Barbarians, Theodoſius was indebted for the ſucceſs of his arms: but their aſſiſtance was precarious; and they were ſometimes ſeduced, by a treacherous and inconſtant diſpoſition, to abandon his ſtandard, at the moment when their ſervice was the moſt eſſential. During the civil war againſt Maximus, a great number of Gothic deſerters retired into the moraſſes of Macedonia, waſted the adjacent provinces, and obliged the intrepid monarch to expoſe his perſon, and exert his power, to ſuppreſs the riſing flame of rebellion [134]. The public apprehenſions were fortified by the ſtrong ſuſpicion, that theſe tumults were not the effect of accidental paſſion, but the reſult of deep and premeditated deſign. It was generally believed, that the Goths had ſigned the treaty of peace with an hoſtile and inſidious ſpirit; and that

their chiefs had previouſly bound themſelves, by a ſolemn and ſecret oath, never to keep faith with the Romans; to maintain the faireſt ſhew of loyalty and friendſhip, and to watch the favourable moment of rapine, of conqueſt, and of revenge. But, as the minds of the Barbarians were not inſenſible to the power of gratitude, ſeveral of the Gothic leaders ſincerely devoted themſelves to the ſervice of the empire, or, at leaſt, of the emperor: the whole nation was inſenſibly divided into two oppoſite factions, and much ſophiſtry was employed in converſation and diſpute, to compare the obligations of their firſt, and ſecond, engagements. The Goths, who conſidered themſelves as the friends of peace, of juſtice, and of Rome, were directed by the authority of Fravitta, a valiant and honourable youth, diſtinguiſhed above the reſt of his countrymen, by the politeneſs of his manners, the liberality of his ſentiments, and the mild virtues of ſocial life. But the more numerous faction adhered to the fierce and faithleſs Priulf, who inflamed the paſſions, and aſſerted the independence, of his warlike followers. On one of the ſolemn feſtivals, when the chiefs of both parties were invited to the Imperial table, they were inſenſibly heated by wine, till they forgot the uſual reſtraints of diſcretion and reſpect; and betrayed, in the preſence of Theodoſius, the fatal ſecret of their domeſtic diſputes. The emperor, who had been the reluctant witneſs of this extraordinary controverſy, diſſembled his fears and reſentment, and ſoon diſmiſſed the tumultuous

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assembly. Fravitta, alarmed and exasperated by the insolence of his rival, whose departure from the palace might have been the signal of a civil war, boldly followed him; and, drawing his sword, laid Priulf dead at his feet. Their companions flew to arms; and the faithful champion of Rome would have been oppressed by superior numbers, if he had not been protected by the seasonable interposition of the Imperial guards [135]. Such were the scenes of Barbaric rage, which disgraced the palace and table of the Roman emperor; and, as the impatient Goths could only be restrained by the firm and temperate character of Theodosius, the public safety seemed to depend on the life and abilities of a single man [136].

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

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